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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XVIII JULY, 1938 NO. 1

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS TO SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, AND ADULT STUDY GROUPS

Educational Film Library Loan Service

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

CHAPEL HILL MCMXXXVIII

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4. May, 1935. *Europe in Transition.* Phillips Russell & C. M. Russell.
5. June, 1935. *Other People's Lives, Fourth Series.* C. S. Love.
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VOLUME V

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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION BULLETIN

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FOREWORD

It is the purpose of the Extension Division to place the audio-visual aids at the disposal of the schools and other educational and civic agencies on a cost basis. The receipts from rental charges will be used to operate the service and to make accessions to the library of films and slides.

Primarily, the visual education services are designed to aid elementary school, secondary school, and college teachers to supplement classroom instruction. Consequently, material is being selected and made available that may be integrated with the curriculum or the courses of study in public schools and colleges. Special programs will also be arranged to fit the interest of adult study groups.

The Bureau is prepared to provide a number of advisory services including the selection of projectors and other equipment, suggestions to teachers regarding the use of visual aids, and information on the sources of motion picture films and slides.

Due to the fact that only a comparatively small number of schools are at present equipped to use films, the Bureau will loan projectors on a nominal rental basis. Parent-Teacher Associations and other organizations are interested in educational motion pictures and may be requested to cooperate with the schools in securing the necessary equipment.

Suggestions concerning the services of the Bureau are solicited.

REGULATIONS AND PROCEDURE FOR BORROWING FILMS

(A request for films implies acceptance of the conditions governing the service.)

How to Order Films

1. In requesting films or otherwise referring to them in correspondence, specify the correct number, title, whether sound or silent, number of reels, and date or dates on which they are to be used. Shipping directions (whether by parcel post or Southeastern Express) must be given.

2. Booking requests must be made in the name of the institution or organization using the films, and must be signed by the person to whom shipments are to be made and billed, and who is responsible for the return of the materials.

3. Film schedules are reserved in order of receipt; therefore, early requests are advisable. Bookings should be made at least two weeks in advance, and may be made in advance for the entire year.

4. It is advisable to give alternate choices of both titles and dates. Every effort will be made to complete a satisfactory schedule. The Extension Division reserves the right to make substitutions in subjects, especially in late orders, when the film or films asked for are not available.

Shipments

5. The Extension Division endeavors to ship films so as to arrive at their destination the day before the showing date.

6. Film users will pay transportation charges both ways. Films may be shipped by parcel post or Southeastern Express. Shipments made by express from Chapel Hill may be returned for one-half the outgoing rate.

7. Shipments to and from many localities are cheaper by parcel post than by express. Schools or organizations desiring shipments by parcel post and planning to use numerous films during the year should make a deposit of $5.00 or $10.00 to cover postage from Chapel Hill. Accurate account of postage is kept, and when the amount of the postage is depleted the borrower is notified; in case all of the deposit is not used, the Extension Division will hold to the credit of the account any unused portion unless request for refund is made. Borrowers having postage deposits should state when ordering films that shipment is to be made by parcel post.

8. In some cases, where shipments by parcel post require an excessive amount of time in transit, the Division reserves the right to ship films by parcel post "special handling" and to charge the extra special handling fee of from ten to twenty cents to the user's account.

Care of Films

9. Use special care in threading the projector so that no sprocket holes will be torn. Remember that one trip through an improperly adjusted

projector may completely ruin a film. The film track and tension spring or plates should be thoroughly cleaned of all emulsion deposit after each program. Torn sprocket holes may be caused by worn sprocket teeth or by dirt accumulating in the film track, on the tension spring, or around the sprocket teeth. Faulty sound is sometimes caused by particles of dirt in the sound optical system of the projector. Do not use a dirty projector, a poor screen, or an uninformed operator, since it is impossible to obtain good projection under these conditions. Occasionally, sometimes evidently without the knowledge of the borrower, sprocket holes throughout an entire film are badly damaged and in some instances the film is rendered unfit for further service, making replacement necessary. To avoid such extensive damage, the person projecting the film should be very watchful of a slight difference in the noise made by the projector mechanism or for any unusual flicker in the screen image.

10. Do not allow grease, oil, or water to come into contact with the films.

11. If film breaks, do not pin the two ends together. This may injure the mechanism used for inspection of all films. If a break occurs during projection, a few feet of film should be run through the projector and lapped under the end of the film on the take-up reel.

12. Unless absolutely necessary, users should not repair broken films before returning them. When it is necessary to splice a broken sound film for additional showings, users should indicate on the report card returned with the film that a splice has been made and the approximate part of the picture where the splice was made so that the splice may be deadened to avoid disturbances in the sound.

13. Keep films in metal containers and in a moderately cool place, in order to keep them from drying out and becoming brittle.

Returning Films

14. The report card mailed with each shipment of films must be filled in and sent to the University Extension Division promptly after each showing. Users are requested to comment freely regarding the films and their relative effectiveness as used.

15. Return film shipments must be made by first mail or express after their scheduled use. All shipments must be returned prepaid.

16. Films must be returned, carefully packed, in the boxes and in the cans in which they were received. Return address labels are included in each shipment; these labels should be used for safe return of all materials. All old labels should be marked out or scraped off the package to avoid the possibility of its going astray.

17. Films should be rewound after showing if possible and returned on the same reels on which they were received. The Extension Division reserves the right to make an extra charge when reels inferior to those sent are returned.

18. In returning films by express, always obtain a receipt so that in case of loss responsibility may be properly placed.

19. The Extension Division reserves the right to send collect telegrams or to reverse telephone charges when borrowers do not return the films promptly as scheduled. All material is booked in advance, and this service cannot operate efficiently without the full cooperation of its borrowers in the prompt return of films.

20. If it should become necessary to hold films beyond dates scheduled, permission should be requested from the Division by telephone or telegraph. Films must be scheduled for additional days in advance; otherwise, the full service charge will be made for each day the material is held without permission.

Fees

21. All service fees and rentals are payable in advance. When orders are not accompanied by payment, the Division reserves the right to ship films C.O.D.

22. Each rental fee quoted covers the use of the film in one school for one day. For each successive day, one-half of the fee quoted for the first day's use will be charged.

23. All checks and money orders should be made payable to: University Extension Division.

Responsibility of Film Users

24. Exhibitors are responsible for films and will be held liable for damage or loss occurring while such material is in their possession, regardless of cause. Damaged films will be charged for at the rate of 10 cents per foot. Should material be damaged when received, report should be made the same day.

25. The Extension Division inspects all films by hand immediately after their return by the user, and reserves the right to determine the extent of damage and to fix proper charge for damage in each case. No charge will be made for ordinary breaks not involving extensive damage to the film.

26. Any failure to ship or handle visual instruction materials properly or to report showings and attendance will be considered sufficient reason for discontinuing service.

Miscellaneous

27. Each 400-foot reel of sound film requires about eleven minutes for projection. The same length of silent film requires about fifteen minutes, due to the difference in projection speed.

28. Films may not be loaned to other institutions or individuals by the original borrower without the knowledge and consent of the Extension Division.

29. Teaching manuals or guides are available for a number of films as indicated by the word "guide" in the listing of the film. These guides will be sent only if the user specifically requests them. Users must pay postage on the teachers' guides.

30. Requests for booking forms, for the use of motion picture films, for information on the value and proper use of films in the classroom, for information pertaining to the purchase of visual aids (projectors, films, classroom equipment, etc.), and all other communications relating to the service should be addressed to: Bureau of Visual Instruction, University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

CLUB RENTAL PLANS

In cooperation with institutions and organizations that contemplate scheduling a number of films for several months or a year in advance, the University Extension Division offers three booking plans on a yearly basis at club rates, as follows:

PLAN I—By paying $50.00 in advance, any institution or organization agreeing to be governed by the procedure outlined on pages 5, 6, 7, and 8 of this bulletin will receive a 40% reduction of the individual rental fee for each subject listed in the catalogue with the exception of those marked with an asterisk. If films are to be shipped by parcel post, an advance deposit of $10.00 for postage is required; if by express, transportation both ways will be paid by the user.

PLAN II—Thirty dollars paid in advance will allow the users of this club plan a 30% reduction on all film subjects listed in this catalog with the exception of the films marked with an asterisk. A $5.00 advance deposit fee is required for parcel post shipments.

PLAN III—Fifteen dollars paid in advance will allow the users of this club plan a 20% reduction on all film subjects listed in this catalog with the exception of the films marked with an asterisk. A $3.00 advance deposit fee is required for parcel post shipments.

PLAN FOR BORROWING PROJECTORS

To schools not owning motion picture equipment, the Extension Division offers for rent screens and 16mm. sound projectors using 750 watt lamps.

The rental fee for a screen and projector will be five dollars for each day used. The borrower will pay all transportation charges.

The person or institution renting same will be held responsible for the proper care of the equipment. This will necessitate the employment of a competent operator.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS

Title: The title of the film is given as listed by the producer.

Catalog Number: For purposes of identification, a catalog number and letter has been assigned each film. This number and letter is given for each film immediately following the title in the alphabetical listing.

Length: Length is given in number of 400-foot reels, designated by "R."

Width: All films listed are 16mm. in width.

Sound or Silent: Sound films are indicated by the word "sound" following the number of reels. Silent films are indicated by "silent."

Service Fee: The service fee for one day's use of film is given in dollars and cents following "sound" or "silent."

Grade Levels: The abbreviations "ps," "el," "jh," "sh," and "c" are used to indicate the grade levels for which the film is most suitable. Many films are clearly suitable for use on several grade levels.

Teacher's Guide: "Guide" is used following the grade level abbreviation to indicate a teacher's guide or manual accompanying the film. Guides may be had on request, film user paying postage.

Sound and Silent Versions of Same Film: A number of the films listed are available in both sound and silent versions. In such cases, two catalog numbers and service fees are given.

KEY TO SYMBOLS

R—Reel or reels.
Sound—Sound-on-film.
Silent—No sound—titles instead of sound.
ps—pre-school; suitable for pre-school and kindergarten groups.
el—elementary; suitable for elementary grades.
jh—junior high; suitable for junior high school.
sh—senior high; suitable for senior high school.
c—college; suitable for college use.

SIXTEEN MILLIMETER SOUND AND SILENT FILMS

Alphabetically Arranged

*These films are not subjected to any of the club rental discounts and must be ordered at least two weeks in advance.

About Bananas
No. 1-Z 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

This film takes the place of an earlier one titled "Banana Land." Complete presentation of the banana industry from the clearing of the jungle and the planting to the shipment of the fruit to the American markets. Scenes laid in Central America.

Adventures of Bunny Rabbit (Erpi)
No. 56-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh guide

The characteristics and habits of rabbits in their natural environments are presented: Mother Gray Rabbit with her newly born young in their burrow; Mother Rabbit feeding; White Rabbit from the farm visiting; Gray Rabbit; Fox pursuing Gray Rabbit to her burrow; Fox unable to get into her burrow; young Bunny's experiences with Frog, Squirrel and Turtle in the woods; Bunny's experiences on the farm with the Cows, Chicks, Puppies, Turkeys; Bunny finds lettuce in greenhouse; farmer puts Bunny into doll house; Bunny runs back to woods.

Ahr Valley—Where the Red Wine Grows
No. 1-G 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

The rich red wines made from the luscious grapes cultivated in the River Ahr valley are famous the world over. The entire crop is picked in a single day—every villager helps. A gay harvest festival follows. This film also shows some of the curative springs which abound in this region.

Alaska (Eastman)
No. 1-K 1R silent $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

Depicts the scenery, industries, and life of Alaska: gold mining, salmon fishing, seal hunting, whaling, native life and schools, and the prosperous farms of American settlers. This film helps to dispel the belief that Alaska is a country of only glaciers, ice, snow.

***Alexander Hamilton**
No. 1-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

A biographical film revealing Hamilton's work during the crucial period immediately following the War of Independence in stabilizing the currency of the new government and formulating its financial system. He is first seen at Morristown, New Jersey, as aide to General Washington during the closing years of the war. He is present at Washington's inauguration, and is appointed first Secretary of the Treasury. He at once undertakes to secure adequate revenue through taxation. Opposition to his Excise Tax leads to open rebellion in western Pennsylvania. He forsees the necessity for the government to regard this as an opportunity to

show its strength. President Washington, despite his reluctance to risk a civil war, accepts Hamilton's viewpoint and calls out the militia. The disorder is promptly and decisively checked.

Allgaeu in Summer
No. 2-G 1R silent $.25; No. 3-G 1R sound $.50 sh-c

This region, situated in Southern Germany, is remarkable for its interesting old towns, ancient monasteries, magnificent castles and most of all the picturesque dress of its sturdy peasants. This is an ideal travelogue depicting a little-travelled part of Germany during the season of its greatest charm.

Animals of the Zoo (Erpi)
No. 1-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh guide

Feeding time at the Zoo! This gives us a splendid opportunity to see not only the animals themselves, but the different kinds of food they eat. For some of the animals the zoo has reproduced the conditions of their native homes. Among the film stars are the lion, tiger, eland, giraffe, bison, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, elephant, monkeys, sea lions, and the bears—brown, black and polar!

Anne Learns About Cargo Boats
No. 1-A 1R silent $1.00 el

Anne rides a ferry boat in San Francisco Bay, sees the Golden Gate Bridge and the Bay Bridge; watches an Ocean Freighter being loaded; visits an Oil Tanker; learns about the operation of a Fire Boat and sees it in action. Some of the outstanding types of Cargo Boats are seen in this picture, which gives an appreciation of ocean freight transportation.

Anne Learns About Ocean Liners
No. 2-A 2R silent $2.00 el

Anne is shown over the S.S. Lurline by the Chief Officer. She watches an automobile being loaded into the hold of the ship, and the hatches being closed; the bags and trunks being hoisted on board; and learns something of how passengers live on ship-board. On board a different type of passenger ship, the Captain explains the charting of the boat's course, the shooting of the sun with a sextant, the wireless room, the life belts, the fueling of the boat. A picture of ocean passenger ships.

Anne Visits Fish Harbor
No. 3-A ½R silent $.75 el

Anne and Bob watch Tuna Clippers come into the harbor. They meet an old sailor who shows them the boats, tells them how tuna fish are caught. Fishing scenes are shown on a tuna boat, and the unloading at the harbor.

Aphids (Erpi)
No. 2-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

This film deals with a very interesting creature. It shows that most aphids have no fathers or even grandfathers. Some are born alive, while

others hatch from eggs; only a few have wings. Ants keep them as cows, while the aphid itself secures its food in an unusual way. It is beset by a host of enemies, among which is man. These scenes are supplemented by an animated drawing of the aphid's life cycle. It is an excellent picture of a little-known creature.

***The Arts of China**
No. 1-H 1R silent $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The study of the arts of China are illustrated with examples from museum collections; buildings revealing ancient architecture; paintings and scrolls in detail; sculpture and carved jades and ceramics; woven and embroidered silks; the scenes of the interior of a Buddist temple with the priest clad in rich robes. The basic principles and theories of Chinese art are analyzed and illustrated.

The Baroque City of Dresden
No. 4-G 1R sound $.50 sh-c

Dresden is world-renowned for its beautiful and varied examples of the baroque period. The motion pictures show the art treasures of this period which have been amassed by its rulers in the course of many centuries.

Baltic Sea Coast
No. 57-G 1R silent $.25

Centuries ago the Hanseatic towns along the Baltic Sea achieved great fame in mercantile enterprise. Today beautiful buildings remain to tell of that period. Typical is the red brick architecture of many churches with manifold spires and turrets offering an interesting skyline. The mild climate and sandy beaches of the Baltic Sea offer vacation opportunities. The coast is bordered by deep oak and beech forests, where one finds ancient mounds and stones as silent witnesses of the past around which strange legend is woven of druids. Amber, the gold of the north, is found here.

Bayreuth—City of Richard Wagner
No. 5-G 1R silent $.25; No. 6-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Here are shown scenes of the famous Wagner city. The film shows the Wagner Museum, the "Owl" Inn, the Opera House and Wagner's home "Wahnfried" in which he lived.

Bavarian Alps From Garmisch Partenkirchen to Berchtesgaden
No. 58-G 1R silent $.25

The Bavarian Alps are one of the most picturesque parts of Germany and the goal of many travelers. Garmisch-Partenkirchen is a favorite summer and winter resort and was the scene of the 1936 Winter Olympics. Rising above Garmisch is the Zugspitze, Germany's highest mountain. Mittenwald is the home of the German violin industry. The Königsee, the prettiest of the Alpine lakes, nestles like a jewel among the giant mountains of the eastern Bavarian Alps.

Beach and Sea Animals (Erpi)
No. 3-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Among the animals brought to the screen are the starfish, sea-urchin, crab, cuttlefish, octopus, crayfish, lobster, shrimp, snail, scallop, and the sea-cucumber. The physical structure and activities of these animals are presented in an intimate way. The balance in nature or interrelations of various animals is clearly illustrated, special emphasis being placed on their methods of protection. The picture is one of unusual interest.

Beautiful Dresden
No. 7-G 1R silent $.25; No. 8-G 1R sound $.50 el- jh- sh-c

This film is descriptive of one of the most celebrated art centers of Europe. Dresden is situated on both banks of the Elbe River and boasts of seven bridges and many magnificent buildings and gardens. This film shows the interiors of some of the famous galleries with their great masterpieces of art.

Beetles (Erpi)
No. 4-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c

In this picture, the complete life histories of the tiger, ladybird and Japanese beetles are vividly revealed on the screen. Many rarely observed events in their lives are presented; some comic, some tragic. The economic relation of beetles to man is definitely brought out. Picture and narrative demonstrate how some beetles have been pressed into the service of man, while others are harmful and must be destroyed through ceaseless warfare carried on by man.

Behind the Shadows
No. 7-Z 1R sound $.50 jh-sh-c

A doctor explains to a group of high school boys and girls what tuberculosis is. As he speaks offstage, pictures, xrays, and animated diagrams illustrate his story.

Berlin
No. 9-G 2R silent $.50; No. 10-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

An intimate picture of Germany's capital. Many of its famous streets, public buildings, monuments and old palaces are shown in this interesting travelogue. The historical background enriches the value of the film.

Big Bend National Park Project
No. 1-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

A trip through one of the wildest, strangest spots in the United States, recently made a National Park Project; featuring mountains and broad desolation, with a prologue on Texas' national resources.

Body Defenses Against Disease (Erpi)
No. 5-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The film provides an exposition of the three lines of defense—the skin, phagocytic cells and lymphatics, and the blood, including a section on immunology. Spectacular microphotography of phagocytosis is shown

along with applications of the defense mechanism in specific cases. The action of liver and spleen together with types of anti-bodies and their effects are dealt with.

The Brass Choir (Erpi)
No. 6-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c

This picture presents the individual instruments of the brass choir—the cornet, trumpet, French horn, trombone, tuba, and their peculiar characteristics. Solo numbers represent the best compositions that have been prepared for the individual instruments. The ensemble gives a thrilling performance of the "March" and the "Pilgrims' Chorus" from "Tannhauser" by Wagner. A stirring picture to be enjoyed and appreciated by everyone.

Bremen
No. 11-G 1R silent $.25; No. 12-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

The photographic treatment of this film exemplifies the modern trend in European film production. Extraordinary views of this old city are shown by the use of unusual and interesting camera angles. The grotesque shots of the strange "lead vault" of the Bremen Cathedral are particularly startling.

Brick Pavements
No. 1-R 2R sound $1.00

This picture portrays the construction of brick pavements.

Bryce National Park
No. 1-V 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

This picture shows the beauties of one of the most scenic spots in picturesque Utah. Many beautiful scenes are shown to advantage, and the very unusual photography assures a picture of lasting interest.

The Builders (Erpi)
No. 7-E 2R sound $3.00 el-jh-sh guide

This picture presents a cross section of the building trades. It furnishes occupational information for boys who have reached the stage at which they are doing some definite thinking about a future occupation. The picture centers around the construction of a huge skyscraper and shows the specialized artisans at work. The picture stirs the imagination and stimulates the student to secure more information.

Butterflies (Erpi)
No. 8-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The film on butterflies illustrates the complete life history of the cabbage butterfly and the swallow-tail butterfly with their different characteristics and habits, including their role in nature, that of aiding in the cross-fertilization of flowers. Time-lapse photography is employed to show in a few seconds processes which require an hour or more. The destructiveness of the cabbage butterfly, as well as its unusual control by a natural enemy, is dramatically depicted.

The Call of the Olympic Bell
No. 13-G 2R silent $.50; No. 14-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

A brief review of the history of the Olympic Games, commencing with the beginning of the Games in 776 B.C. up to and including the preparations of the XI Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936. It does not contain a picture record of the last Olympic Games but is packed with lively sport scenes and pictures of Germany.

Canals of England (Erpi)
No. 57-E 2R sound $3.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

In this film, an account of the origin, development, and present status of the canal boat traffic in England is portrayed. A voyage on one of the boats is taken through the Grand Union Canal. Interesting views of the locks, countryside and towns through which the Canal passes, together with different types of cargo carried, provide a wealth of worthwhile geographic material. Studies of the families living on the boats give the pupil an unusual insight into the sociological problems involved. A conversation between the captains of the two boats exemplifies the type of thinking done by these people. The picture concludes with challenging questions as to the place of this mode of transportation in the machine age.

Carlsbad Cavern (New Mexico)
No. 2-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Views of the interior of the Caverns, with pictures of interesting plant and animal life of that area and an animated explanation of the formation of the Caverns and of the interesting formations within them.

Castles in the Meissen Country
No. 59-G 1R silent $.25; No. 15-G 1R sound $.50 sh-c

Here are shown the fertile lowlands of Saxony whose history dates back to the 10th Century when it became part of Germany. The film shows the picturesque ruins of its many medieval strongholds. The thousand-year-old city of Meissen is also shown, as is the State Porcelain Factory, the oldest in Europe.

Catalysis (Erpi)
No. 58-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

Catalysis is another factor that affects the velocity of many chemical reactions. The film presents explanations of several phenomena associated with catalysis, among them, concentration by absorption, activation by absorption, intermediate compounds in a homogeneous mixture, chain reactions, breaking of reaction chains, poisoning of catalysts, and negative catalysts or inhibitors. The practical examples used as a basis for some of the explanations are rubber and anti-knock gasoline.

CCC Accomplishments in Pennsylvania
No. 3-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in the state and county parks of Pennsylvania with a pro-

logue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the state.

***The Child Explores His World**
No. 2-H 2R silent $3.00 el-jh

This film shows how the Brooklyn Children's Museum helps the child to enjoy the larger world of rocks and earth where plants and animals grow, where men build cities. The Museum is alive with hobbies, full of things he cares about, headquarters for exploring his world. This picture shows that a community may create a children's museum to help its children in healthy self-expression and character development.

***China and America**
No. 3-H 1R silent $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Comparison of China and the United States by means of outline maps showing comparative sizes, populations and industries; graphs and other sketches depicting the immense age and steady development of Chinese culture. Examples of arts and ceremonials reveal the rich cultural background. Contrast of the relatively slow industrial development is made, and glimpses of cities now under foreign control are given.

***China's Children**
No. 4-H 1R silent $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The study of the child-life of China: the life on a sampan or river boat; the play in the city streets, with glimpses of an old story teller, some street entertainers, food vendors, and a parade; the work in weaving, fishing, rowing, picking tea; little girls carrying babies on their backs; well-dressed youngsters from wealthy families; children in a mission school.

***China's Gifts to the West**
No. 5-H 2R silent $3.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

Two small boys, one Chinese, the other American explore the American's home to discover China's gifts to the Western World: games: mah jong, dominoes, playing-cards; paper-making; hand-painted wall papers, gunpowder; the magnetic needle on the compass; goldfish; pekinese dogs; flowers and flower designs: peonies, iris, chrysanthemums; tea; furniture; silk. As each article is considered, the film travels farther afield by showing to what highly developed uses it has been adapted by the necessities of Western civilization.

***China's Home Life**
No. 6-H 1R silent $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The land of contrast is depicted by rich mandarin palaces with beautiful gardens, the crowded life of the city street, the river-boats and their life of poverty, the farms, and the homeless beggars. The old ceremonial customs are shown by street processions of weddings and funerals; there are interesting glimpses of markets and street shops; a cross-section of the people—the barber, the itinerant milkman with his cow, the letter writer, the acrobats and street fakirs.

Choosing Your Vocation (Erpi)
No. 9-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Dr. Kitson enacts the role of a psychoanalyst as he interprets the vocational problems of a high school boy who is making an effort to adjust himself. The boy faces his first problem when he desires money to purchase a camera. His first attempt at a "white collar" job is unsuccessful. Further research and reading convince the boy that he must enter a vocation which will permit him to utilize his special talents and interests. Following a period of "try-out" he reaches his goal.

The Cicada
No. 2-R 2R sound $1.00

The life history of the 17-year locust. Unusual cinematography of an unusual subject.

***Columbus**
No. 2-Y 4R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

The career of Columbus from 1485 to 1492, disclosing the discouragements, the persistent efforts and the ultimate triumph of the "mad Italian." First seen at the court of King John of Portugal, he discovers the duplicity of this monarch and starts anew on the arduous search for support which leads him, years later, before Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. At first rebuffed, he secures a second interview through the intercession of Juan Perez and wins Isabella's aid. Then comes the departure of his tiny fleet from Palos, his dangers on the high seas, and his eventual landing upon Watling Island.

The Conquest of Diphtheria
No. 1-M 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh

Skipper, aged four, and the youngest member of an average American family, has fallen ill. As there are many cases of diphtheria in town, Dr. Simmons is called in. He finds that Skipper has only raided the family ice-box. However, precautions are taken and Skipper is given his first injection for diphtheria immunization. Dr. Simmons tells Skipper's mother of the days when his grandfather practiced medicine.

The Continent of South America (Eastman)
No. 2-K 1R silent $1.00 el-jh guide

Shows the position of South America on the globe, the main natural regions of the continent, their relation to each other, and the physical, biological, and social feature of each. Locates and describes the Andes, Pacific slope, Brazilian Highlands, LaPlata Basin, Guiana Highlands, Orinoco Basin, and Amazon Basin.

Cotton From Seed to Cloth
No. 1-F 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh guide

Shows the cotton producing regions of the world, the growing of cotton in the Southern states, ginning, transportation to New England, manufacture into cloth and blankets, with animations showing for the

first time the details of spinning and weaving, cotton textiles and blankets in color photography, cotton Indian head, broadcloth, and prints used in dresses.

The Country and People of the Erzgebirge
No. 60-G 1R silent $.25; No. 16-G 1R sound $.50 sh-c

Among the many interesting scenes in this film are shots showing peasants making lace, even the thread being made by hand. Other scenes show the making of brushes—the sole industry of one village. Wood carving and toy making also play a prominent part in the lives of these people.

The Cradle of the Father of Waters
No. 4-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in north central Minnesota with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the state.

***Daniel Boone**
No. 3-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh-sh guide

The courage and unconquerable spirit of the early pioneers, typified by a portion of the adventuresome career of Daniel Boone. In 1775, landholders of North Carolina sent him as the forerunner of a new settlement in what is now Kentucky. He establishes Boonesboro but the colony faces extinction because of sickness and Indian depredations. The film describes Boone's capture by the Shawnees, his acceptance as an Indian brother, his final escape and his defending Boonesboro against a bitter nine-day attack.

1936 Davis Cup Tennis
No. 4-A 1R silent $1.00 sh-c

This is the United States vs. Australia, North American Davis Cub zone finals, which were played on the courts of the Germantown Cricket Club in May 1936. This film shows in slow motion each match, and close play of each of the players with their strokes. The players are Adrain Quist and Jack Crawford of Australia; Wilmer Allison, Donald Budge, and Gene Mako of the United States.

1937 Davis Cup Tennis
No. 5-A 1R silent $1.00 sh-c

This is the United States vs. Australia, North American Davis Cup zone finals, which were played on the courts of Forest Hills, Long Island in May 1937. The matches shown are J. Donald Budge vs. Jack Crawford, Bryan "Bitsy" Grant vs. John Bromwich, J. Donald Budge vs. John Bromwich, Grant vs. Crawford, Budge and Mako vs. Crawford and McGrath. This shows the play of each individual in slow motion, as well as each match. The individualistic style of Bromwich and McGrath who play with two hands on the racket is interesting.

A Day in Virginia Camps
No. 5-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Scenic and CCC work record in Seashore, Westmoreland, Staunton River, Hungry Mother, and Fairy Stone State Parks in Virginia. CCC camp life and recreation.

Death Valley National Monument
No. 6-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

A camera journey through an area known all over the world because of the fact it lies below sea level. Remnants of the days of the gold rush. 20 mule team wagons and modern facilities for seeing this strange land.

***The Declaration of Independence**
No. 4-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

An account of the efforts of a small group of patriots to bring about a unanimous vote in favor of independence which reveals the three outstanding attitudes of public opinion in 1776 as represented by Tories, Conservatives, and those in favor of absolute independence. The influence of Pamphleteers, typified by Thomas Paine and his "Common Sense," the unofficial gatherings of delegates, the concern of John Adams, Franklin and others as to the attitude of France, the proceedings of the Second Continental Congress culminating in the famous session of July 2nd, 1776, when a unanimous resolution for independence was secured. The formal adoption of the Declaration of July 4th, and the subsequent excitement.

The Development of Transportation (Erpi)
No. 10-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

This picture presents transportation developments within the United States during the past one hundred fifty years. The physical barriers, the spread of the railroad network, and the subsequent highway development, are shown rapidly and clearly. Principal stages in the development of the locomotive and automobile are portrayed. Modern transportation devices including the airplane are shown in relation to their potentialities and our utter dependence upon them.

Digestion of Foods (Erpi)
No. 59-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

In this film both the mechanical and the chemical aspects of digestion are presented, together with their controlling factors. Among the mechanical processes included are mastication, swallowing, stomach contractions, intestinal segmentation, and intestinal peristalsis. Among the chemical processes presented are the production of saliva and the action of ptyalin on starch, the production of gastric juice and the action of pepsin on albumin, and the production of pancreatic juice and the action of lipase on fats.

***Dixie**
No. 5-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh-sh guide

"Dixie" relates the story of the civilian South throughout the Civil War, revealing the heroic part played by the women of the Confederacy

and the position and attitude of the slaves. To this end, it traces the experiences of a typical Southern family behind the lines, from the time its men ride off to the war to the final months of the struggle.

The Dodder (Erpi)
No. 11-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The entire life story of the dodder, one of the best known of the group of parasitic flowering plants, is shown by means of time-lapse photography, accompanied by an explanatory narrative. Among the more impressive features is the presentation of the dodder twining about the host plant. Animation aids in revealing details in the structure and operation of the suckers. The destructive character of this plant is demonstrated, as well as the beauty of the flowers.

Dresden and Its Environs
No. 17-G 1R sound $.50 sh-c

Dresden and its environs are well-known for their art treasures and magnificient situation in the Elbe Valley. Surrounded by wooded and romantic Saxon Switzerland, Dresden presents a picture of extreme loveliness.

Drinking Health
No. 2-F 2R silent $.50 jh-sh guide

New York's water supply and how it is purified. Importance of water and amount to be consumed daily. Giving water to football players, factory and office workers. Need for individual drinking cups and sanitary dishwashing.

The Earth in Motion (Erpi)
No. 12-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

This film presents realistically the dynamic aspects of the earth as a planet. The earth's sphericity is demonstrated, while rotation is established by star trails and the Foucault pendulum. Proof of the earth's revolution about the sun is presented by motion of the sun in respect to stars and by the annual parallax of stars. The film concludes with phenomena associated with this revolution, such as characteristics of orbit, aphelion and perihelion, law of areas, inclination of axis, and seasons.

The Earth's Rocky Crust (Erpi)
No. 13-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

This film presents Geology in its dynamic aspects and aims to show that the forces now changing the face of the earth are responsible for its present appearance. The basic fact of geology—the building up and breaking down of rocks and land forms—is graphically shown through presentation of the water cycle, the formation of rocks, and the crumbling of rocks. Animated diagrams, models and illustrative scenes are used in the film to present more clearly the subject matter.

ECW in the Great Smoky Mountains
No. 7-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

The work of the CCC in the national park which lies atop the purple high country of North Carolina and Tennessee with many scenes of the

highest peaks east of the Mississippi. Mountain streams, wild flowers, and the life of the southern mountain people.

***Education in China**
No. 7-H 1R silent $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

An interesting and thought provoking study of education in China revealing the rich cultural background that has been the privilege of the "chosen few" and in contrast the great modern movement for the education of the masses. The writing of the complex ancient Chinese script is shown with the more simplified modern forms. Other examples of ancient culture and knowledge are revealed by shots of some intricate and beautiful astronomical instruments.

Electrochemistry (Erpi)
No. 14-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

This picture portrays the electrolytic decomposition of hydrogen chloride and the production of electric current from the action of chlorine and hydrogen on platinum. An explanation of the storage battery integrates both processes. Electroplating illustrates participation of electrodes; electrorefining illustrates preferential discharge; and electrolysis of sodium chloride to yield caustic soda illustrates participation of the solvent. The production of aluminum from a molten electrolyte concludes the subject.

Electrodynamics (Erpi)
No. 15-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

In this film direct photography demonstrates cause and effect, while animation explains the fundamental principles of current electricity and electromagnetism. Among the concepts presented are: Galvani's discovery of current electricity; magnetic field about a current carrying wire; magnetic field of a coil; electro-magnets; Rowland's experiment; magnetic hypothesis; recalescence; induction by a magnet; A.C. generator; D.C. generator; induction by an electric current; and transformers.

Electrons (Erpi)
No. 16-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

By means of various photographic techniques, including animation, the hypothesis that electricity consists of unit elementary charges is supported by observation of phenomena associated with the conduction of electricity in liquids, gases, and vacuums. The conclusion drawn is that the fundamental unit of an electrical charge is the electron.

Electrostatics (Erpi)
No. 17-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

This film deals with static electricity as fundamental to an understanding of the modern theories of electricity. It explains how positive and negative electrification are produced and by animated drawings shows the part played by insulators and conductors. Natural photography supplemented by animation gives a remarkable exposition of the movement

of charges in the electroscope, the Compton electrometer, the static machine, and Nature's display of static electricity, lightning.

Energy and Its Transformations (Erpi)
No. 18-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

Potential, kinetic and radiant energy, as manifested in mechanical, chemical, and thermal form, are vividly illustrated and explained. The principle of conservation of energy, and the concepts "power" and "work" are demonstrated in experiments. The film closes with a review of present and future sources of energy.

Evangeline's Haven of Peace
No. 8-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Scenic and CCC work record in Longfellow-Evangeline Memorial Park, St. Martinville, Louisiana. Evangeline Oak, famous egret bird sanctuary, and other pictorial representations of country described in Longfellow's "Evangeline."

***The Eve of the Revolution**
No. 6-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

Depicting the most significant incidents of the decade 1765-1775 and through these interpreting the state of mind of the people as the movement for independence gained impetus. In detail, recreating scenes incident to the Stamp Act and the stand against "Taxation without Representation." Also re-created are: Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea Party, the Salem Assembly, the rides of Paul Revere and William Dawes, Jr., the sharp military clashes at Lexington Green and Concord Bridge and the retreat of the British.

Farm Animals (Erpi)
No. 60-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh guide

The care and activities of farm animals are presented in this film. Natural sounds are included. The film treats such subjects as feeding and milking cows, boy leading cows to pasture, feeding of calves, new-born calf, feeding horses, watering horses, colt feeding, feeding of pigs, currying and harnessing of horses, cows drinking and grazing in the pasture, cow chewing her cud, goat and kids feeding, sheep grazing, lambs feeding, and sheep shearing.

Faster and Faster on Germany's New Motor Highways
No. 61-G 1R silent $.25

Germany is building the most modern automobile highways as a part of the new motorization program. Five thousand miles of new roads are being built simultaneously. The highways are so arranged that they are devoid of crossroads; bridges and trestles spanning river gorges and valleys. The new national highways connect all points of economic, cultural and scenic importance in Germany.

Fire Weather
No. 3-R 2R sound $1.00

This film shows how the United States Weather Bureau gathers forest-fire weather data and distributes warnings of fire hazards.

First Aid—Care of Minor Wounds (Eastman)
No. 3-K ¼R silent $.50 jh-sh guide

Stresses the importance of immediate care for even the slightest wound. Demonstrates proper method of applying sterile dressings.

First Aid—Control of Bleeding (Eastman)
No. 4-K ¾R silent $.75 jh-sh guide

Shows, with actual photography and animated diagrams, accepted methods of control of arterial and venous hemorrhages.

Flowers at Work (Erpi)
No. 19-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The parts and the physiology of plant flowers are artistically presented by animation. Time-lapse photography interspersed with animation then presents various types of flowers and different methods of pollination. Every important step is carefully covered in the narrative. The relation of insects to cross-fertilization of flowers is clearly illustrated. The picture closes by showing how man has modified the form of flowers by cultivation.

For a Changing Empire
No. 9-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in the state and county parks of Georgia with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the state.

A Forest Playground
No. 10-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

(Patapsco, Md.) Scenic and CCC work record in Patapsco State Park, near Baltimore, Md.

Frankfort-on-Main
No. 18-G 1R silent $.25; No. 19-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Frankfort has been called the center of European culture and economic life. This film depicts a blending of old world glories and modern wonders.

The Frog (Erpi)
No. 20-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The frog, as the most representative amphibian, is here picturized. The entire life cycle of the frog is presented, aided by many stop-motion scenes and microscopic views. The development of the embryo is thus brought to the screen in a continuous scene of only a few seconds. The several changes taking place in the tadpole stage are carefully portrayed by picture and narrative. Slow-motion photography demonstrates the graceful movements of the frog in jumping.

From Mine to Consumer
No. 8-Z 2R silent $.50 jh-sh

Part one shows how the copper-bearing rock is mined and transported to the smelters. Here the ore is crushed and most of the waste material is eliminated. It then passes successively through roasters, reverbatory furnaces and converters, and the resulting "blister copper" is cast into plates, known as anodes, for electrolytic refining. In part two we learn how copper and brass sheets and strips are made. We observe copper cakes being rolled under heavy pressure, and the annealing necessary to insure and correct temper in the metal. Lastly, the finishing, trimming and inspection of the sheet metal is shown.

From the Chronicles of Dinkelsbuehl
No. 20-G 2R silent $.50; No. 21-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

A film, showing many picturesque spots of the thousand-year-old city, famous throughout the world as a rare example of medieval beauty. The picture ends with a historical pageant, which depicts a dramatic episode of the town's history in the Middle Ages.

***The Frontier Woman**
No. 7-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

To portray the sacrifices of the women of the frontier and the part played by them in the making of our nation, this film re-creates the story of the settlement of Watauga in the Tennessee mountains in 1780.

Fundamentals of Acoustics (Erpi)
No. 21-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The phenomenon of hearing and the modification of sound between the source and the hearer are emphasized in this film. The specific elements explained or demonstrated are velocity of sound, refraction, range of hearing, lowering intensity, attenuation in air, eliminating high and low frequencies, reverberation and focussing of sound. Extensive use is made of animation and sound effects. The film concludes by indicating advances in communication which have resulted from combining our knowledge of sound and of electricity.

Fungus Plants (Erpi)
No. 22-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Major emphasis is given to the various mushrooms whose growth and reproduction are illustrated by time-lapse photography and animation. Molds and other fungi are also presented by these same techniques. The economic importance of these plants is definitely shown by both the photography and the narrative in their use as food, their destruction of dead organic matter and their cause of disease in plants. The picture has an unusual aesthetic appeal.

Garmisch-Partenkirchen
No. 22-G 2R silent $.50; No. 23-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

Germany's most perfect winter playground was selected as the most suitable location of the IV Olympic Games. Champions of snow and ice

are shown in breath-taking events of the European tryouts and finals for the past Winter Olympics.

***The Gateway to the West**
No. 8-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

Suggesting the beginning in 1753 of the bitter conflict of the vast wilderness west of the Alleghanies between France, working South from Canada, and England, pressing westward from her seaboard colonies.

Geological Work of Ice (Erpi)
No. 23-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The sound film opens with a survey of significant but often overlooked examples of the gradational work of ice. Animated drawings are employed to explain the action of phenomena that cannot be demonstrated photographically. The major portion of the film is devoted to the story of glaciers, the types of glaciers, the formation of glaciers, glacial movement, gradation and transportation by glaciers, topographical results of glacial activities as evidenced by moraines, eskers, striated and grooved rocks, cirques, hanging valleys and fjords; and finally the Pleistocene ice age.

The German North Sea Coast
No. 62-G 1R silent $.25

For centuries the waves have washed against the shores of Friesland leaving a rugged coast with many islands. The North Frisian Islands are from Heligoland north along the coast of Schleswig-Holstein and the East Frisian Islands are from the Elbe River to the coast of Holland. The inhabitants of these islands are fishermen and farmers at the same time. Regular steamer service is maintained to the larger islands which are well-known bathing resorts. A seven mile causeway connects Westerland, the largest North Frisian Island, with the mainland.

Germany—The Heart of Europe
No. 24-G 2R silent $.50; 25-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

A short review of Germany today built on a background of history. A travelogue commencing with the arrival at a German port showing in rapid succession the beauty of historical Germany, alternating with the Germany of today.

The German Museum in Munich
No. 26-G 2R silent $.50; 27-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

A pictorial trip through one of the greatest scientific museums in Europe. Many of the scenes show the details of actual operation of the scientific apparatus.

German Winter Sports
No. 28-G 3R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

A series of five motion pictures dealing with winter sport activities. The films are highly entertaining as well as instructive to skiiers and those interesting in skiing.

Glacier National Park
No. 11-D 2R silent $.50; No. 12-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

The most spectacular of the national parks as seen by the camera from many angles and out-of-the-way places. Towering snow-covered mountains, sparkling lakes, and rambling Swiss Chalets.

Glass Industry in Thuringia
No. 63-G 1R silent $.25

In the midst of the Thuringian forest, one of the most beautiful parts of Germany, many magnificient and exceedingly interesting ruins of ancient monasteries are to be found. Following the example of the old monks, maybe, the people still gather herbs and plants whose healing powers are known to them and brew all sorts of mixtures and ointments. In other districts glassblowers deftly mould the pliant melted glass into objects of every description from vials for the physician and chemist to delicate ornaments of fantastic shape.

***Glimpses of Modern China**
No. 8-H 2R silent $3.00 el-jh-sh-c

Part I of the film is an orientation to the country itself. It gives a swift tour of Canton, Peiping, Nanking, Shanghai, Hankow, and western China. China, the country is revealed as modern, yet retaining the charm of its ancient civilization. Part II brings about an acquaintance with the people of China. The film surveys education, government and leadership in modern China. As the title implies, it is composed of glimpses worked together toward a unity that is intended to give a feeling for the nation as a whole.

Glimpses of National Parks
No. 13-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Part I. Scenic glimpses and animal life in Yellowstone, Yosemite, Rocky Mountain and Grand Canyon National Parks.

Part II. Outstanding features in Glacier, Lassen Volcanic and Sequoia National Parks.

Ground Water (Erpi)
No. 24-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The story of "Ground Water" as revealed in the sound film indicates its importance in changing the earth's crust. The film brings to attention many phenomena that take place below the surface of the earth. Artesian wells, springs, water table, caves, and wells, are explained by animated drawings and illustrated photographically. Other phenomena such as geysers, springs, sink holes, petrifaction, concentration of useful minerals, and geode fillings, are explained and illustrated by outstanding examples in the United States.

Hamburg
No. 29-G 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c guide

Hamburg with its canals and old buildings is Germany's second largest city and the Continent's largest seaport. Among the many interesting

scenes of the old and the new Hamburg are shots of Hamburg at work and at play. The film also shows good closeups of the rare animals at Hagenbeck's world famous zoo.

Hands
No. 1-W 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Through pictures of human hands in action, this short subject tells the story of the depression, shows the tremendous scope of the Works Progress Administration employment program and its marked impetus to industrial recovery. It is the first documentary film ever to trace the circulation of money as it passes from the hands of the workman through those of the tradesmen into industrial marts.

Harz Mountains
No. 30-G 2R silent $.50; No. 31-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The Harz is the highest mountain range in Central Germany. It abounds in magnificent forest, high plateaus and picturesque valleys. Close-ups of the world famous Harz Mountain canaries are among the scenes.

The Heart and Circulation of the Blood (Erpi)
No. 25-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

This production deals with the mechanics of the pulmonary and systemic systems. Delineation of the heart action is shown by animation and natural photography. Amplified heart beat sounds and microscopic scenes of capillary action render the picture spectacular. Blood pressure and its relation to health is also vividly portrayed.

The Heart of the Confederacy
No. 14-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Development and use of state parks around Montgomery and Auburn, Alabama, with side lights on the history of the Capitol of the Confederacy and college education in the south.

Home Demonstration Work—What It Is, and Does
No. 4-R 2R sound $1.00

This picture shows the scope of home demonstration work; representative scenes in various parts of the country.

The House-Fly (Erpi)
No. 26-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The film tells the complete story of this common but extremely dangerous pest. The four stages of the fly's life cycle are shown—egg, larva, pupa, and adult. Its activities as a carrier of disease germs are presented vividly. The picture illustrates effective means for eliminating the fly menace. Special emphasis is laid on community action. This film is highly recommended for use in health education as well as in science.

***How China Makes a Living**
No. 9-H 1R silent $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The people of China are shown at work: the farmer in his tiny fields, plowing, planting, and harvesting his rice crop; primitive methods of irrigation and fertilization; the culture of tea and silk; the various methods of fishing; the harvesting of bamboo and making rope from its fibre; the gathering and preparing of wood-oil nuts, camphor wood and castor oil beans; coolies, men, women and children loading vessels and performing other heavy tasks; a glimpse toward the future showing a modern factory.

How Nature Protects Animals (Erpi)
No. 27-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

This film presents and describes various ways by which animals are provided with devices to conceal themselves, either for the purpose of protection, or as a means of securing food. Examples are given of natural protection through fleetness of foot, mimicry, protective coloration, armor and secluded homes. Included in the picture are the rabbit, raccoon, giraffe, tiger, lion, zebra, goat, pheasant, looper caterpillar and the bee-hawk moth.

How Teeth Grow (Eastman)
No. 5-K 1R silent $1.00 el-jh-sh guide

Traces the development of teeth from infancy to adult life, showing their structure and arrangement. Animated drawings and models show the position of the teeth in the mouth. Labels indicate the structure of a tooth and the nerves and blood vessels which surround it. Diagrams of development at successive ages show how teeth are formed and break through the gums in definite order. Actual photography of children is introduced to show the teeth in position at each age level. A complete temporary set of a six year old child is shown, and animations demonstrate how this temporary set is pushed out by the insistent permanent teeth.

Human Crop (Organized Camping)
No. 15-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

The story of the adaptation of worthless farm land into organized camps for underprivileged children, featuring the 15,000 acre Chopawamsic area between Washington and Richmond.

In Old Hessen
No. 32-G 2R silent $.50; No. 33-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Picturesque Germany is at its best in these scenes of peasants dressed in their quaint costumes against a background of ancient buildings.

In the Wake of the Buccaneers
No. 16-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Scenic and action treatment of the Island of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. Complete musical background.

***Jamestown**
No. 9-Y 4R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

A faithful impression of the Jamestown settlement in 1612 under the stern rule of Sir Thomas Dale. The daily life of the colonists.

***Japan and Her Problems**
No. 10-H 3R silent $3.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

This sober factual study of the country and its people provides valuable background for a dispassionate consideration of Japanese policy in the Orient. Japan's history and topography, her rapid westernization and industrialization since 1854, the character of her people as exemplified by their home life, religion, artistic ability; public enterprise; industry; and form of government give a clearer insight to the economic and social situations confronting the Japanese Empire.

***Korean Farming**
No. 11-H 3R silent $3.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

This is a presentation of the struggle for existence as carried on by a typical Korean farmer. Primitive methods of rice planting, irrigation, and harvesting are shown, with unusual glimpses of home life, children, and characteristic festivities in Korea.

Lake Constance
No. 64-G 1R silent $.25

Lake Constance is the largest lake in southwestern Germany. Germany, Austria and Switzerland border on the lake, and a frequent schedule of lake steamers maintain traffic on its waters. Friedrichshafen, home of the world-girdling Zeppelins, in on the north shore. Not far away are the reconstructed lake-dwellings which give an accurate picture of the abodes of the prehistoric inhabitants of the lake region. Grottoes and passageways probably served as places of refuge for the early cave dwellers. Constance is rich in historical tradition. The island of Meinau is a semi-tropical paradise. The fertile island of Reichenau has been cultivated for centuries. English titles.

Land of Ten Thousand Lakes
No. 17-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in north central and southern Minnesota with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the state.

Land of the Giants
No. 18-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

Scenic and CCC work record of state park development and extension in California. Areas covered—California Redwood, Humboldt Redwood, Calaveras, Mt. Tamalpais, San Jacinto Mountains, Rubicon, Prairie Creek, Big Sur, Cuyamaca, Morro Bay, and Russian Gulch State Parks.

Leaves (Erpi)
No. 28-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The film first suggests the significance of leaves to all life forms. Then animated drawings are employed to show the relationship of plant leaves to the other parts of a plant—roots, stems, and flowers. There is a rapid survey of several common types of leaves and of the essential parts of the typical leaf. Throughout the body of the film, microscopic views reveal cross-sections of leaves, thereby showing the arrangement of the leaf parts and the process of the leaf. Animation is used to explain photosynthesis. In conclusion, the film reveals several plant structures which are essentially modified leaves.

Let's Study Glacier National Park
No. 19-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

The geological story of Glacier National Park, told in animation and direct photography.

Light Waves and Their Uses (Erpi)
No. 61-E 1R sound $1.50 sh-c guide

This elementary presentation of light includes a comprehensive explanation of the principles of reflection with plane, concave, and convex mirrors. Refraction is clearly revealed in connection with the lenses and with special reference to the human eye. The principles and applications of interference are vividly portrayed. This is followed by interesting sequence on polar screens, the electromagnetic spectrum, the quantum theory. Animation is employed extensively to visualize otherwise intangible processes.

Looking Back Through the Ages
No. 20-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

A detailed presentation of the archaeological story of Cliff Dwellers who formerly inhabited Mesa Verde.

Love of the Harmonica
No. 34-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

This is a musical film of great entertainment value. The photography is very good. We hear music comprising German folk songs played against scenic backgrounds. Some scenes show how harmonicas and accordians are manufactured.

The Making of Safety Glass
No. 2-V 2R sound $1.00 jh-sh-c

A portrayal of the development of safety glass, showing complete steps in the manufacture. The picture commences with deposits of silica sand, a fundamental in the manufacture of safety glass, and shows with great care and detail the manner in which the sand and other necesasry ingredients are finally made into safety glass as we see it in the modern automobile. There is commercial advertising in the picture.

Making Paving Brick
No. 5-R 1R sound $.50

The progress of clay is traced from the time it is taken from the deposit until it is made into the finished product.

Man Against Microbe
No. 2-M 1R silent $.25; No. 3-M 1R sound $.50 jh-sh

Covers three hundred years of progress in public health and medicine. It reveals Van Leeuwenhoek, the first man to see microorganisms through a microscope; Pasteur, with his new way of killing germs by heat and fighting other germs with vaccines. Lister demonstrates the third means of destroying germs—carbolic spray. The discoveries made by Robert Koch and Emile Von Behring are also shown.

Man Against the River
No. 2-W 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

This is a moving and powerful picture of the great Ohio valley flood of 1937.

***The March of the Movies**
No. 1-SA 6R sound $10.00 el-jh-sh-c

This film serves a two-fold purpose: first, it affords entertainment for the entire family; second, it provides an opportunity for a comparative study of the successive steps in the development of the motion picture from earliest conceptions to the present time (suitable to supplement class instruction in art, drama, physics, and other subjects).

This film portrays a chronological history of the development of the motion picture. It shows how the movement of images carved on the pillars of the temple of Isis was obtained. The discovery that enabled Leonardo Da Vinci to invent his Camera Obscura, pictures of Kircher's magic lantern, Daguerre's contribution to the development of the movies, and Thomas Edison's discovery of sound motion pictures, are all reproduced in this film.

Scenes from the first fourteen silent motion pictures ever produced are included, as well as portions of later films, such as: The Big Parade, The Hunchback of Notre Dame; The Birth of a Nation; Pollyana.

The Masterdrink of Rothenburg
No. 35-G 2R silent $.50; No. 36-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

Rothenburg's medieval splendor has endured through the ages. Its houses and streets, many of which are over a thousand years old, have not been changed by time. This film also shows a festival play "The Masterdrink of Rothenburg" which depicts many stirring scenes from the tragic Thirty-Years' War.

Mechanisms of Breathing (Erpi)
No. 30-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

In this picture the breathing mechanism in operation is revealed. Technical animation portrays gaseous exchange in the lungs and body

tissue cells, including pathological conditions. A demonstration of artificial respiration is provided. By means of animation and photography the nervous control of breathing and factors affecting rate and depth of breathing are shown.

Molecular Theory of Matter (Erpi)
No. 31-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

Evidence of molecular activity in gases, liquids, and solids is presented in support of the molecular theory of matter. Animated drawings explain such phenomena as the diffusion of gases, the evaporation of liquids, and the transformation of liquids into solids, in terms of the theory. Among the features of the film are the machine gun illustration of force exerted by molecules in motion, and the microscopic view of the Brownian movement, direct evidence of molecular motion.

The Moon (Erpi)
No. 32-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

By means of animation and other cinematic devices this film presents dynamically the story of the moon. The difficult concept of tides is clearly explained, as are the phases of the moon. Other lunar phenomena explained by special cinematography and animation are: the moon's orbit; the lunar month; sunrise and sunset on the moon; occulation of stars; the moon's path in space; lunar eclipses; and solar eclipses with special reference to the eclipse of 1932.

Morristown National Historical Park
No. 21-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

A pictorial record of CCC activities in the restoration and preservation of this interesting historical area.

Moths (Erpi)
No. 33-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

A large silk moth and the white-masked tussock moth are followed in detail through their life histories. The silk moth caterpillar is shown at work on the construction of its unusual cocoon. The secluded life of the female tussock moth is revealed. All the steps in their life cycles are portrayed. Attention is called to their economic importance. It is a fascinating picture of unusual interest and value.

Mountain Building (Erpi)
No. 34-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

By employing animated drawings and models "Mountain Building" reenacts significant events in geological history. The subsidence of the land about the mouth of the Hudson River, the story of the Appalachian Mountains, and the specticular Lewis Overthrust in the Rocky Mountains, are vividly portrayed. The film opens with a photographic survey of evidence which constitute the basis of these interpretations, and closes with a consideration of the significance of these phenomena to mining and structural engineering.

Mummies Reveal Their Secrets
No. 37-G 1R silent $.25; No. 38-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The poor families in Ancient Egypt buried their dead in paper caskets. Some of these caskets have recently been acquired by a Berlin museum to be dissected and the old records reclaimed. This film shows amazing insight into the life at that time.

Muscles (Eastman)
No. 6-K 1R silent $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

The structure and the use of muscles are strikingly presented by means of actual photography and animations. The film may be used, not only to teach the facts involved, but also to provide a fresh approach to the consideration of habits of exercise and posture. Structure and properties of muscles. Muscles in action.

A Nation-Wide System of Parks
No. 22-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

Especially prepared for exhibit use at the San Diego Exposition. Classifies CCC work in parks under broad heading of Conservation, Restoration, and Rehabilitation. Work examples chosen from more than twenty states in the Union.

Natives of Glacier
No. 23-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Intimate pictorial glimpses of the interesting types of flora and fauna of Glacier National Park.

Natives of Yosemite

No. 24-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Scenes showing the interesting types of flora and fauna of the Park, closing with pictures of Yosemite Indians in native costumes.

Navajo Children (Erpi)
No. 62-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh guide

Here are revealed, in superb photography, set in Arizona and New Mexico, the experiences of a Navajo boy and girl in moving with their family, household effects, pets, horses, sheep and goats from their winter quarters to their summer home. Following a day's journey by wagon, they camp for the night with other Navajos and after the evening meal sing native songs. In the morning, the Navajo boys hold a marksmanship contest with bows and arrows. Another day's travel bring the family to their destination. Repairing their home, planting crops, caring for their sheep and goats, and rug weaving are among the activities shown. Navajo conversation and songs vitalize this stimulating learning experience.

The Negro Farmer
No. 6-R 3R sound $1.00 jh-sh-c

Outlines are given of the work of the Federal and State Extension Services among southern Negroes. It shows what is being done to further

the cause of better farming and better living. Incidental choral music is rendered by the Tuskegee Institute Choir.

The Nervous System (Erpi)
No. 35-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The structure of the nervous system, together with its pathways and connections is depicted. The nature of the nerve impulse; conditions for setting up impulses; their passage from cell to cell; their discharge and resultant activity are shown along with reflexes, sensory integration, and finally, activity of the cerebrum.

New Romance of Glass
No. 9-Z 2R sound $1.00 jh-sh-c

This picture begins with a short story sketch of the first production of glass by the Phoenicians. Views in a modern glass factory follows, showing the manufacture of fruit jars.

Noerdlingen Anno 1634
No. 39-G -R silent $.25; No. 40-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The old 14th century fortifications of Noerdlingen with their moats, ramparts and towers are today in a state of almost perfect preservation. Against this background a pageant is enacted which depicts incidents during the Swedist occupation in 1634. This film is historically correct.

Oberammergau and The Passion Players
No. 41-G 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Oberammergau is the famous Passion Play town. The great religious spectacle was performed for the first time in 1634. This film tells the history of the Passion Play and the life of the players.

Old Danish Sugar Bowl
No. 25-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Unusual treatment of the remains of what was once a great industry in the Virgin Islands. Crumbling walls, abandoned machinery and empty fields with an historical background.

Old Lands—New Use
No. 26-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in the state parks of South Carolina with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the state.

The Olympus Country
No. 27-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Variety of scenic material, including mountains, trees, etc., photographed in proposed Mt. Olympus National Park, in the state of Oregon.

Once Upon a Time
No. 4-M 1R silent $.25; No. 5-M 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh

An animated cartoon with musical symphonies (on the sound film) and shows a fairy-land setting used to emphasize the need of safety on the

streets. Well-known fairy tale and Mother Goose characters become involved in the present-day types of street and highway accidents through the machinations of two bad goblins—"Carelessness" and "Discourtesy."

One Scar or Many
No. 6-M 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

This film deals with the disease of smallpox.

Outdoors in the Garden State
No. 28-D 2R silent $.50; No. 29-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in improving various public recreational areas in the State of New Jersey.

Oxidation and Reduction (Erpi)
No. 36-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The simultaneous process of oxidation and reduction is presented first by burning phosphorous and rusting iron under experimental conditions. Mercury rust is then decomposed to discover the component of air responsible for oxidation. Other examples of oxidation and oxidizing agents follow. The process of reduction is strikingly presented in the operation of the blast furnace, magnesium burning in dry ice, and thermite welding. Everyday examples of oxidation and reduction conclude the picture.

Panama Canal Zone
No. 2-Z 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

The story of a great engineering achievement, showing the method by which the canal is operated.

Parks Under the Lone Star
No. 30-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

CCC development under state parks in Texas with varied scenic views and an introductory history of the largest state in the Union.

A Peasant Wedding in Hessen
No. 42-G 2R silent $.50; No. 43-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

Very interesting are the century-old marriage rites of Old Hessian villages. All the details of the ceremony are shown in this film, from the elaborate preparations of the bride to the transportation of her dowry to her new home.

The Percussion Group (Erpi)
No. 37-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

Variety is the keynote of this picture showing as it does, not merely the traditional snare, base and kettle drums, but also the tambourine, cymbals, triangle, bells, and xylophone. The opening measures of music in this picture are played on the celesta—an instrument which pupils rarely have opportunity to examine. The camera brings each instrument close enough for detailed examination. Selections from Schubert, Chopin, Beethoven and Meyerbeer are used.

***Peter Stuyvesant**
No. 10-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

A summary of the outstanding events from 1653 to 1664 which reveals how Dutch New Amsterdam became English New York. Life in the picturesque Dutch Colony under the stern rule of Stuyvesant.

Pilgrim Forests

No. 31-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in the state and county parks of New England with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the states.

***The Pilgrims**
No. 11-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

The struggle for religious freedom as typified by the story of the Pilgrims. Starting with the experiences of the Separatists at Scrooby, England, their migration to Holland during 1607-08, and twelve years later the departure of the devout band for America.

Plant Growth (Erpi)
No. 38-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

This film is a remarkable presentation of the growth of the pea plant. It shows by time-lapse photography and micro-photography the entire story from the time the seed first sends out its root and stalk until the ripened seeds are scattered. The process of pollination and fertilization are vividly portrayed by means of photography and animation, while the accompanying narrative clarifies this mysterious process.

Plant Traps (Erpi)
No. 39-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Carnivorous plants have the unusual characteristics of entrapping and digesting insects and other small animals. The film shows how the pitcher plant lures insects to its trap, where they drown. The sun-dew, another carnivorous plant, is shown throughout its life cycle. The enfolding of insects by its leaf tentacles is presented very impressively by means of time-lapse photography. The picture presents many unusual, interesting scenes.

Pond Insects (Erpi)
No. 40-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

"Pond Insects" presents the dividing water beetle, the mayfly, and the dragonfly, as representative of this group of insects. Their life cycles are portrayed, as well as their food habits and struggle for existence. Among the events shown are the method by which the diving beetle lays its egg; a water beetle larva attacking a large tadpole; the mayfly molting after acquiring wings; the mayfly hiding from its enemies; and the remarkable mask of the dragonfly nymph.

Posture (Eastman)
No. 7-K 1R silent $1.00 el-jh-sh guide

Prepared in cooperation with the American posture league. Demonstrates the effect of posture upon the size of the chest, the position of the abdominal organs, and general personal appearance. Shows how good sitting and standing posture may be developed.

Poultry On the Farm (Erpi)
No. 63-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh guide

The appearance and habits of adult and young chickens, ducks, geese and turkeys are presented in this film. The film includes such subjects, with their natural sounds, as the following: chickens roosting, feeding and drinking; comparative appearance of hen and rooster; brooder house and chicks; gathering of eggs; incubation of eggs; egg embryos; chicks hatching; ducklings just hatched on outdoor nests; ducklings feeding and diving in water; goose, gander and goslings; adult and young turkeys; and turkeys roosting in trees.

Preventing Blindness and Saving Sight
No. 3-Z 2R silent $.50 jh-sh

Shows the causes of blindness, and the simple precautions which, if observed, will preserve the vision of many people.

***The Puritans**
No. 12-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

The economic background of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Life in early New England, 1630, contrasted with the court of Charles I.

Rain for the Earth
No. 3-W 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

Dramatic, swift-moving scenes tell a gripping story of man's struggle with the drought in the Great Plains. Farmers in distress turn from idleness to the work of building dams and reservoirs to conserve the rain when it falls.

Reactions in Plants and Animals (Erpi)
No. 41-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

After first characterizing the concepts of "stimulus" and "reaction," the film presents a study of different types of reactions in plants and animals. Directed reactions in a field of force (tropisms) are studied first; then higher reactions including reflexes and chains of reflexes lead up to a review of nervous system activity. Such reactions as geotropism, phototropism, stereotropism, galvanotropism, and rheotropism are studied in detail. Time-lapse photography is employed to illustrate geotropism (response to gravity).

Regulated Deer Hunting
No. 7-R 2R sound $1.00

This film shows the damage done by deer when they become too numerous, and how they are removed by trapping, artificial rearing and shipping

of fawns, and by regulated hunting on the Pisgah National Forest and Game Preserve in North Carolina. Of general interest, but especially for sportsmen.

Rhoenwheel Sport
No. 44-G 1R silent $.25; No. 45-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Rhoenwheels are little known in this country but they are very popular in Germany. This film shows a rhoenwheel school for children as well as experts who manipulate these huge wheels with great skill. This fascinating sport requires perfect balance, poise and control.

The Rhine From Cologne to Mayence
No. 65-G 1R silent $.25

The Rhine, one of the most romantic rivers in the world, attracts many travelers every year. We embark upon a boat and railroad journey from Cologne to Mayence. On our way we pass many of the old castles and strongholds which remained from the Middle Ages.

The Rouge Plant
No. 3-V 3R sound $1.00 jh-sh-c

An impressionistic portrayal of the huge Rouge Plant of the Ford Motor Company—its Men, Machinery and Methods—with special musical background. Highly interesting and non-technical. There are frequent references to the Ford Motor Company, however, this film has use in the classroom to show the coordination of the various processes in the manufacture of an automobile.

Romance of Rayon
No. 4-Z 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh

Shows the manufacture of rayon in a way that will interest every pupil. The boys and girls can figuratively tramp through the heart of the spruce woods for trees, watch them felled and floated down to the mills to be processed, gather fluffy cotton and guide the immense machines that spin the threads and weave them into shimmering cloth.

The Romantic Country of Castles
No. 46-G 1R silent $.25; No. 47-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

This picturesque film shows the romantic country of castles lying between the Neckar and the Tauber Rivers. Probably in no other part of Germany is one likely to find more enchanting scenery than this. From Heidelberg to Rothenburg proud castles and crumbling ruins beckon from the hills to the dreamy countryside below.

Roots of Plants (Erpi)
No. 42-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The various forms of plant roots are first presented. Then time-lapse and micro-photography are employed frequently in the remainder of the picture to bring out the interesting processes of growth, structure and other characteristics. The functions of the root-cap and the root-hairs are vividly presented. An experiment in osmosis is demonstrated and care-

fully explained, followed by an animation of water absorption by the roots.

Rose Bowl Football, 1937
No. 6-A 1R silent $1.00

Scenes taken at the Pittsburgh-Washington 1937 Rose Bowl game, played at Pasadena, California.

Saving the Beauty of Alabama
No. 32-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Scenic and CCC work record in Geneva State Park, Geneva County, near Hacoda. Old Creek, Indian trails, reforestation, and erosion control.

Saxony's Green Borderlands
No. 48-G 1R sound $.50 sh-c

This film shows that part of the former Kingdom of Saxony which borders on Czechoslovakia. It shows its summer resorts, its curative springs and beautiful landscapes. Included are also glimpses of people enjoying a variety of winter sports, which are very popular in this region.

Science and Modern Medicine
No. O-1 3R sound $4.50 sh-c

A new and up-to-date lecture on the nature of the diseases, syphilis and gonorrhea, the need for early competent treatment, the effects of the diseases when untreated, the possibilities of cure with proper treatment. The process of reproduction is also described. An American Social Hygiene film.

Science Makes a Dentifrice
No. 5-Z 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Scientific laboratory and modern manufacturing development of tooth paste with world-wide travelogue scenes, scientific animation and microscopic action.

Seed Dispersal (Erpi)
No. 43-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The film presents many interesting ways by which seeds of plants are scattered in order to insure the propagation of the species. The methods illustrated include dispersal by the wind, transportation by animals, and forceful propulsion from the seed-case. The dramatic value of these examples is increased by the use of time-lapse photography. Attention is given to the germination of seeds under various conditions. The struggle for survival in the plant world is vividly portrayed.

Seeing Glacier National Park
No. 33-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

A movie trip to some of the most interesting scenic attractions of the park.

Seeing Yosemite National Park
No. 34-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Scenes in Yosemite, noted for the beauty of its waterfalls, valleys, monoliths, and sequoias; a year-round playground.

Shenandoah National Park
No. 35-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Scenic views in Virginia's new national park, featuring the world-famous Skyline Drive.

The Silver Treasure of Lueneburg
No. 49-G 2R silent $.50 jh-sh-c

This film shows the beautiful and rare old silver vessels used by the people of Lueneburg during the Middle Ages and which are now housed in a Berlin museum. This collection of old silver made by the great craftsmen of Lueneburg is the only complete collection in Germany.

Sinews From the Soil
No. 36-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work on the north shore of Minnesota with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the State.

The Solar Family (Erpi)
No. 44-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

In this picture the evolution of the solar system is revealed according to the planetesimal hypothesis. This is followed by a portrayal of the real and apparent motion of the planets. Among the special phenomena presented are: the phases of Venus; retrograde motion of Mars, Jupiter and its satellites; the apparent motion of Saturn's rings; orbits of the planetoids, Eros and Anteros; orbit of Halley's comet; and the motion of the solar system in space.

Sound Waves and Their Sources (Erpi)
No. 45-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

This film demonstrates and explains several types of sound sources. The transmission of sound waves through the air is clearly visualized. The characteristics of sound waves, such as frequency, amplitude, wave length, fundamentals, harmonics, are vividly explained visually with acoustic accompaniment. The high-speed camera, animation, sound effects, and an oscilloscope are used to clarify these phenomena of sound.

Speaking of Safety
No. 3-F 1R silent $.25 pr-el-jh

Typical danger situations to children in street traffic interpreted by automobiles, the fronts of which turn into cartoon faces with titles coming out of their mouths telling of the toll being taken in children injured and killed by automobile accidents; warnings against careless practices in crossing, traveling, and playing in highways.

Spiders (Erpi)
No. 46-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The nursery-web, the orb-web, the funnel-web, and the trap-door spiders appear in this picture. The complete life cycle of the first is presented, while the peculiar habits and characteristics of the others are shown. The construction of an orb-web is shown through every step of the procedure. The retreat of the trap-door spider is explained and illustrated pictorially. After showing the spiders as home builders there are scenes demonstrating their prowess as hunters or providers.

Stop Forest Fires!
No. 8-R 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh

A general discussion of the problem of the forest fire, with striking scenes from recent major conflagrations is given. There are shown forest fire fighting, the death toll of large forest fires, the damage to forests, wildlife, and soil.

Story of Leather
No. 10-Z 2R silent $.50 el

The opening scene begins with a dusty, spirited plains round-up of cattle. In the following sequences the hides of these animals are traced through leather making processes into shoes, bag, clothing, upholstery and other products. There are shown the methods and places where hides are taken off, how tanners get them, how they are cured and preserved in the long tanning process. Modern industrial technique is shown and contrasted with stages of manufacture where skilled handicraft is indispensable. World maps with animated titles and diagrams indicate the interrelation of productive factors in the modern world by showing the sources of all raw material used in tanning. Finally, the various methods used to manufacture leather for specific purposes are shown.

The String Choir (Erpi)
No. 47-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The picture opens with the string ensemble playing a selection from "L'Arlesienne" by Bizet. After the characteristics of the violin are explained a violinist renders a solo. The same procedure is followed for the other instruments. The camera is focussed at various angles to show technique involved in playing these instruments. A string quartet renders a part of the Haydn "Kaiser Quartet" and the picture closes with the scene of the Czardas from "Hejre Kati" by Hubay.

Study of Finger Motions in Typewriting
No. 11-Z 1R silent $1.00 sh-c

This film presents a motion study analysis of hand and finger motions in typewriting, on the usual standard keyboard and on the new simplified keyboard.

Stuttgart
No. 50-G 1R silent $.25; No. 51-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

The largest city in Swabia is situated on the Neckar River. The old

town with its narrow lanes and the new town characterized by broad thoroughfares and modern buildings offers an interesting contrast. Stuttgart is also a modern industrial center.

Sugar (Rebuilding an Island Industry)
No. 37-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

The story of the rebuilding of the sugar industry in the Virgin Islands interspersed with scenic beauty and intimate glimpses into the lives of the people of the Islands.

Sugar Refining Process—Dixie Crystals
No. 12-Z 3R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh

This film shows the refining process of sugar as carried out in the Savannah Sugar Refining Corporation, Savannah, Georgia. It includes a survey of the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of sugar cane, and the conversion of the cane juices into raw sugar. It is practically a complete picture of the story of sugar from the cane fields to the various forms of refined sugar available for direct consumption. There is a small amount of advertising of "Dixie Crystals".

Summer Ends in the Rockies
No. 38-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

A pictorial record of CCC work in Rocky Mountain National Park, photographed in October, 1934.

The Symphony Orchestra (Erpi)
No. 64-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The two Wagnerian compositions are featured in this film in the "Ride of the Valkyries" and the Prelude to Act 3 of "Lohengrin". The work of the conductor, Mr. Howard Barlow, is admirably caught by unique camera angles as he interprets these brilliant scores and through his orchestra of Philharmonic players, brings this interpretation into sound. This film has particular merit for all students of conducting and for music appreciation study.

***Tambo**
No. 12-H 2R silent $3.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

This study of rice fields creates a vivid understanding of the Japanese farmer and significance in the structure of contemporary Japan. All the processes of rice cultivation, still carried on by traditional methods, are shown, interspersed with scenes of farm life, tea-picking and silk culture. It is presented in newsreel style.

Taming the Desert
No. 39-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in the state and county parks of New Mexico with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, civic, and commercial features of the State.

The Tauber Valley—A German Idyl
No. 52-G 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

This travelogue shows the medieval towns which lie along the banks of the idyllic Tauber River, one of the loveliest rivers in Germany. From Wertheim on the Main to the world-famous town of Rothenburg on the Tauber we take a pictorial journey, both instructive and entertaining.

Teaching with Sound Films (Erpi)
No. 48-E 1R sound $1.50 sh-c guide

Based upon research and experimentation, this picture depicts methods of using the sound film in the classroom. Units of instruction at the intermediate, junior and senior high school levels are shown. The parts played by the teachers, the pupils, and the sound film are illustrated in the study of "Plant Growth," "Sound," "Work of Rivers," and other subjects. Because of the need for professional knowledge in this field, this picture will make a substantial contribution to classes in teaching method and in audio-visual instruction, as well as to teachers in service.

Territorial Expansion of the United States From 1783-1853
No. 13-Z 2R sound $3.00 el-jh-sh-c

This film shows graphically the growth of this country from colonial times to its present continental size, exclusive of territorial possessions. This growth is depicted in chronological order in a manner designed to accord with that in which American history is taught in the classroom.

Animated maps are used extensively to illustrate points, and the various boundary disputes are clearly explained. These maps are supplemented with authentic representations of history's great events. A review map at the end of the film re-emphasizes dates of various territorial acquisitions.

A Thirty-Six Weeks Behavior Day (Erpi)
No. 49-E 1R sound $1.50 sh-c guide

The infant boy whose behavior day at 12 weeks was charted is now 36 weeks old. He has made striking progress. His reactions are compared with those which he experienced twenty-four weeks earlier. His responses to the ministrations of his father and mother are commented upon. Of particular interest is the portrayal of the very first successful creeping efforts observed during his efforts to advance upon and seize a ball on the floor. An animated clock announces the changing events of the day's schedule.

***Three Great Religions of China**
No. 13-H 1R silent $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

A study of China's three great religions: general temple scenes; Taoism, the Taoist bible, "Book of the Path of Virtue", rites as practiced by priests; Buddhism, the temples, the priests, the pictures of famous Buddha statues and images, The Lotus Gospel, worshippers in the temple courtyard; Confucianism, China's greatest religion, the study of the "Golden Rule" of Confucius, scenes of ancestor worship; a brief comparison of these three religions and Christianity.

Thrushes and Relatives (Erpi)
No. 65-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh guide

This picture provides an understanding of bird life in general. The habitats, feeding habits, brooding, development and activities of the Bush-tit, Chickadee, Hermit-Thrush, Russet-backed Thrush, Robin, Bluebird, and Water Ouzel are revealed by spectacular photography. Natural sounds of the different bird calls and songs render the production unusually valuable as an instructional aid. It is of interest to students of all ages and contributes materially to a better understanding and appreciation of birds and their value to mankind. Animated drawing visualize habitats and migration.

Tiny Water Animals (Erpi)
No. 50-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

The life processes and activities of amoebae and paramecia are shown. The activities of the amoebae are given major emphasis. Reproduction of amoebae is presented on the screen. The film also reveals other interesting creatures, such as the wheel animalcule, chiloden, swan animalcule and stentor. Micro-photography makes this an unusually interesting picture. Only through motion pictures can such material be presented and clearly demonstrated to large groups.

Tree of Life
No. 9-R 2R sound $1.00

A popular presentation of the "Why" and "How" of sustained yield forest practices. Emphasizes the need for permanently productive forests.

Trees and Stones That Speak
No. 40-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Record of CCC work in Alabama state parks.

A Trip Through Germany
No. 53-G 2R silent $.50; No. 54-G 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c guide

A pictorial trip through the Germany of today. Many aspects of the New Germany are here shown for the first time, while short sequences of medieval Germany afford interesting contrasts.

A Veteran of Three Wars
No. 41-D 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work incident to the restoration of Fort Frederick, near Hagerstown, Maryland, as the center of interest in one of the Maryland State Parks. Recording the historical importance of the Fort in relation to the French and Indian War, the War for Independence and the War Between the States.

Volcanoes in Action (Erpi)
No. 51-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

Throughout the history of man, volcanic phenomena have stimulated man's imagination. Today we realize, and this film demonstrates that even frightful volcanic phenomena operate in accordance with natural

laws. The sound film presents by photography evidence of past volcanic action. Animated drawings combined with photography explain many of the more important phenomena of volcanism such as dikes sills, laccoliths, metamorphism; the products of volcanism including lava, cinder, and ash; causes and distribution of active volcanoes throughout the world.

***Vincennes**
No. 13-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

The struggle for supremacy along the frontier when the American Colonies were fighting for independence in the east. Hamilton, British Governor-General of the Northwest, occupies Vincennes to curb the influence of westward-spreading pioneers.

The Vintager's Festival in the Palatinate
No. 55-G 1R silent $.25; No. 56-G 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Folk festivals in Germany are famous. This subject shows the fall festivals which are celebrated after the grapes have been harvested in the Palatinate. Gay native dances and costumes lend color to the film.

A Visit to Mesa Verde National Park
No. 42-D 2R silent $.50 el-jh-sh-c

The most numerous, notable, and best preserved cliff dwellings in the world are in Mesa Verde National Park.

Water Lure
No. 43-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Scenic and CCC work record in Warm Springs and Indian Springs State Parks, Georgia. Theme—importance of medicinal waters in cultural and recreational development of a country. Atmospheric shots of Warm Springs Foundation.

Water Power (Erpi)
No. 66-E 1R sound $1.50 sh guide

The concept of potential power from water is introduced by the water cycle which furnishes a never-ending source of power. It is shown how rapids and waterfalls, by use of this, were changed from hindrances to aids to man's progress. The body of the picture traces the development of water power, chiefly in the United States, from the small mill of the early colonists to such modern projects as Niagara, Boulder Dam, and the Tennessee Valley. There is an informative sequence on the transformation of kinetic energy of the waterfalls into potential energy through the hydro-electric plant. The film concludes with a world-wide survey of potential water power.

***We Are All Artists**
No. 6-Z 3R silent $7.50 jh-sh-c

A motion picture study designed to awaken in the average person an appreciation of beauty as an essential part of life. It presents a simple approach to the understanding of design and good taste.

The Wearing Away of the Land (Erpi)
No. 52-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

Several important processes which result in the wearing away of the land at one place and the building up at another are vividly shown in this film. Scenes taken all over the world show processes and formations which succinctly tell the story. How the land is affected by chemical decomposition of rocks, glaciers, wind and waves is presented. Scenes at Carlsbad Cavern illustrate the formation of caves, and animated diagrams and aerial views show how the coast line is changed by the waves of the ocean.

We Work Again
No. 4-W 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

This is a stirring and dramatic picture of Negro activities under the Federal work program. All types of workers—from the common laborer to the highly-trained technician—are shown at useful tasks under the Works Progress Administration employment program.

Wee Anne and the Snow Man
No. 7-A ½ R silent $.75 ps-el

Bobby and Wee Anne go to the mountains to play in the snow. They roll the snow into big balls to make a snow man, whom they dress up and give a funny nose. Then they have a snow ball fight and a ride on a sled. Correlated with the explanation about snow by the teacher has instructional value.

Wee Anne Goes Sailing
No. 8-A ½ R silent $.75 ps-el

This picture shows what Wee Anne does when she goes to the Yacht Harbor. She rows a boat, sees sail boats and motor boats, is taken for a sail on a Star sail boat. The activities of hoisting, lowering, furling, and covering the sails are filmed.

Wee Anne Sees the Indians
No. 9-A 1R silent $1.00 el

This is the story of Wee Anne visiting the Taos Pueblo. She is seen at Santa Clara and also at San Ildefonso Pueblo with Maria, famous for her black pottery. She watches the Indians separate corn, sees the outdoor oven, and looks into a Kiva. Also Wee Anne visits with the Navajos at a real hogan on the Reservation where she sees an Indian blanket being woven. The film shows the life of the Southwest Indians. All this film is actually taken on these reservations and is authentic in every detail.

Wee Anne Visits the Farm
No. 10-A 2R silent $2.00 el

Wee Anne visits Stevie, the farmer's son. They ride on a hay rake; watch mowing machine; play on hay cocks; see Nellie, the farm horse, rabbits, chickens, pigs; help shock the grain and tie it into bundles; play hide and seek in the grain shocks; feed baby kids with nursing bottle; bid good-bye to Rover, the dog. A picture of work and life on a farm.

Wee Anne Visits the Zoo
No. 11-A 1R silent $1.00 ps-el

Wee Anne visits the zoo and sees foxes, peacocks, penguins, zebras, bison, deer, porcupines, prairie dogs, camels, elephant, tapir, otter, bears, polar bears, seals, pelicans, tigers, ducks, birds, gorillas, orang-outang. All of the animals are shown with close-up views. A nature study film.

Wee Anne's Christmas
No. 12-A 1R silent $1.00 ps-el

The story of Wee Anne and her Cousin Michael's Christmas activities: shopping for toys, gifts for the poor, hanging up their stockings, Santa Claus coming down the chimney and putting out the toys, the joy of Christmas morning. Some of the religious significance as well as the fun of Christmas is suggested.

Wee Anne's Dog Sandy In Just A Dog's Day
No. 13-A ½R silent $.75 ps-el

This is a simple story of what Sandy does during the day. He gets out of bed in his nightgown, has a morning dip, plays tag with Wee Anne, is dressed up, taken for a ride in the doll buggy, listens to the toy phonograph, says his prayers and goes to bed.

Where Trade Winds Blow
No. 44-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

A picture record of the CCC in the Virgin Islands showing general conditions and work projects. Narrative and interesting musical background.

White Sands National Monument
No. 45-D 1R silent $.25; No. 46-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

An interesting picture of White Sands, explaining what they are and how they happened. This picture contains many unusual desert and mountain scenes.

Winter Sun and Summer Sea
No. 47-D 2R silent $.50; No. 48-D 2R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

CCC work in the state and county parks of Florida with a prologue and scattered sequences of atmospheric and location shots of important historic, topographic, and civic and commercial features of the state.

***Wolfe and Montcalm**
No. 14-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh guide

The bitter struggle between France and England in America, culminating in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and the fall of Quebec in 1759. The acute situation in world politics which prompted William Pitt to send an army overseas under command of General James Wolfe.

The Woodwind Choir (Erpi)
No. 67-E 1R sound $1.50 el-jh-sh-c guide

Throughout this film various woodwind instruments, supported by full

orchestra, are shown and heard in typical passages from standard orchestral compositions. Ample opportunity is given to hear and judge tone quality and to observe playing techniques. The performers are professional symphonic players of the highest rank. Various details of instrument construction are explained. The use of the French horn with the woodwind group is shown in a portion of Brahms' "Fourth Symphony". The film opens with an excerpt from Brahms' "First Symphony". Other selections range from the works of this more abstract composer on through Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Von Weber, to the colorful and familiar "William Tell" music of Rossini.

Working for Dear Life
No. 7-M 1R silent $.25 el-jh-sh-c

Stresses in interesting story fashion the importance of having a thorough physical examination made annually.

The Work of the Atmosphere (Erpi)
No. 53-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

"The Work of the Atmosphere" reveals the numerous ways in which the atmosphere plays a part in altering the earth's surface. The film shows how temperature variations and winds disintegrate rocks. The movement of sand, loess, dust, and volcanic dust over great distances on the earth's surface is dramatically visualized. Then follows an explanation of the formation of soil and its significance.

The Work of Rivers (Erpi)
No. 54-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

"The Work of Rivers" presents dramatically, yet simply, the erosion cycle of water on the earth's surface. The main story is introduced with a brief portrayal of the water cycle in nature. The main story is integrated by motion pictures, specially taken for the picture, presenting examples from many parts of the country. Models and animated drawings are employed to explain such special features as Niagara Falls, deltas, meanders, ox-bow lakes, rejuvenated rivers, lakes, water gaps and sand bars.

The Work of Running Waters (Erpi)
No. 55-E 1R sound $1.50 jh-sh-c guide

This film displays and analyzes the activities of the most effective agent of erosion—running water. Models and scenes from all parts of the world show how running water wears away the land. Many picturesque results of erosion are analyzed. To illustrate stream deposits there is included an unusually complete sequence on the formation of deltas and flood plains. This is splendidly illustrated by sand table models and aerial scenes of the Mississippi bottom lands.

Work Pays America
No. 5-W 5R sound $1.00 el-jh-sh-c

This is a dramatized record of accomplishments under the Works Progress Administration employment program. It is a moving human docu-

ment showing public improvements and the conservation of human and natural resources.

Yale vs. Princeton Football, 1936
No. 14-A 1R silent $1.00

Scenes from the 1936 Yale-Princeton football game, showing close ups of outstanding plays.

Yellowstone National Park
No. 49-D 2R silent $.50; No. 50-D 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

The natural wonders of the oldest and largest national park in the United States, featuring the geysers, hot springs, and the magnificent canyon—"Old Faithful"—in all her glory.

***Yorktown**
No. 15-Y 3R silent $7.50 el-jh-sh guide

The progress of the War of Independence between January and October, 1781. The hardships and suffering of the American troops. The problems facing General Washington due to discouragement and mutiny.

Zion National Park
No. 4-V 1R sound $.50 el-jh-sh-c

Huge monoliths carved by rains and river, basking in semi-tropical climate, makes this park in southwestern Utah an ideal vacation ground. Aerial views of the park combined with the natural beauty of the rock formations make this picture very interesting.

LANTERN SLIDE

LOAN SERVICE

CONDITIONS GOVERNING LOAN SERVICE

Upon payment of an annual registration fee of five dollars, any school, college or adult study group may borrow any of the lantern slides listed in this bulletin, during one calendar year.

Organizations not desiring to follow the above plan may pay individual rentals for each set used. This fee is one cent per slide. Parts of sets cannot be ordered.

Slides may be retained for one week without extra charge. Requests for slides should be made as far as possible in advance.

The borrower is responsible for any slides broken while in use.

The user of this service must pay carrying charges.

All slides here listed are 4 x 3¼ inches to be used in a regular stereopticon lantern. Where manuals are provided a notation to that effect is made at the head of the list of slides in the set.

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I. GEOGRAPHY

Slides are separated into sets by regions. Each slide has a card with explanatory notes.

K-1. NEW ENGLAND STATES (24 Slides)

Maine

1. Logs from the Forest Delivered at the Stream, Aroostook County, Me.
2. The Rocky Coast of Maine—Cape Neddick Light, York Nubble, Me.

New Hampshire

3. Quarrying Granite, Concord, N. H.

Vermont

4. Looking Down into a Marble Quarry, Vermont.
5. Chiseling Ornamental Marble for Buildings, Proctor, Vt.

Massachusetts

6. Old North Church, Boston, Mass.
7. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.
8. Boston, Mass., from an Airplane.
9. Bunker Hill Monument, Boston, Mass.
10. Lexington Common——Rock Marking the Line of Minutemen, Lexington, Mass.
11. Skilled Workmen Cutting Leather for Shoes, Massachusetts.
12. An Abandoned New England Farm.
13. Drying Codfish in the Sun—Gloucester and Harbor in the Distance, Mass.
14. Spinning Cotton Yarn in the Great Textile Mills, Lawrence, Mass.
15. Copying Design on Copper Rolls for Printing Cotton Cloth, Lawrence, Mass.
16. General View in Large Printing-Room of Cotton Mills, Lawrence, Mass.
17. Cows in Rocky Pasture, Massachusetts.
18. Doubling Frame in a Large Woolen Mill, Lawrence, Mass.
19. Cut Rags That Have Been Removed from Washing-Room, Paper Mill, Holyoke, Mass.
20. Inspecting Paper Delivered by Machine, Holyoke, Mass.

Rhode Island

21. Slater Mill, First Cotton Mill in United States, Pawtucket, R. I.

Connecticut

22. Inspecting, Sorting, and Weighing Raw Silk Skeins, So. Manchester, Conn.
23. First Drawing, or Straightening, of Silk Fibers, So. Manchester, Conn.
24. Spinning Silk—Showing Roving Frame, So. Manchester, Conn.

K-2. MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES (60 Slides)

New York

25. Lower New York City, from an Airplane.
26. New York City from a Steamer at Dock on the Brooklyn Side.
27. The Great Brooklyn Bridge, New York City.
28. Subway Station and Train, New York City.

29. Wall Street, New York City.
30. Looking North on Broadway past Trinity Church, New York City.
31. Many Ways of Travel in New York City.
32. Immigrants from Europe at Ellis Island, New York City.
33. The *Leviathan*, Originally the *Vaterland*, New York Harbor.
34. The Dornier Flying Boat, the Do-X, New York Harbor.
35. Filling and Sewing Bags of Granulated Sugar, New York City.
36. Draining the Cheese Curd, East Aurora, N. Y.
37. Cutting Out Boys' Pants with Band Saw, New York City.
38. Grape Vineyard, Westfield, N. Y.
39. Looking up the Hudson River from West Point, N. Y.
40. Folding and Ironing Linen Collars, Troy, N. Y.
41. General View of Stitching and Fitting Department in a Large Shoe Factory, Syracuse, N. Y.
42. Evaporating Salt Brine by Steam to Obtain Salt, Ithaca, N. Y.
43. Modern Methods of Transportation—Canal, Railway, and Paved Highway, near Utica, N. Y.
44. Summer Spraying in Apple Orchard, Hilton, N. Y.
45. Washing 1,000 Pounds of Freshly Churned Butter, East Aurora, N. Y.
46. Automatic Machine for Filling and Capping Bottles of Milk, East Aurora, N. Y.
*47. Picking and Loading Cantaloupes, near Buffalo, N. Y.
48. Mouth of Old Erie Canal, Buffalo, N. Y.
49. Niagara Falls from Prospect Point—Looking toward Canadian Falls, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
50. The American Falls in Winter, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

New Jersey

51. Palisades of the Hudson River, New Jersey.
52. Great Ocean Liners at the Docks, Hoboken, N. J.
53. Drawing Warp for Weaving Silk Cloth in Extensive Silk Mills at Paterson, N. J.
54. Weaving-Room in the Famous Silk Mills at Paterson, N. J.
55. Machines Weaving Dozens of Taffeta Silk Ribbons, Paterson, N. J.
56. White Leghorn Hens in Laying-House, Corning Egg Farm, New Jersey.
57. Milking Scene in a Modern Dairy.
58. Firing Tableware in the Noted Pottery Center, Trenton, N. J.
59. Artists Decorating Porcelain Ware, Trenton, N. J.
60. In the Surf, Atlantic City, N. J.

Pennsylvania

61. Junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, Pittsburgh, Penna.
62. Blast Furnace Plant, Pittsburgh, Penna.
63. Modern Pig Iron Machine at Rest, Pittsburgh, Penna.
64. Emptying Cooled Pig Iron from Molds into Car, Pig Iron Machine, Pittsburgh, Penna.
65. Filling Molds with Steel, Pittsburgh, Penna.
66. Steel Ingot on the "Table" of the "Blooming" Mill, Steel Works, Pittsburgh, Penna.
67. Red-hot Steel Beam from Rolling Process Being Cut into Lengths by Buzz Saw, Steel Works, Pittsburgh, Penna.
68. General View of Coke Ovens—Loading Coke into the Cars, Connellsville, Penna.
69. Drilling for Oil, near Bradford, Penna.
70. Shooting a New Oil Well with Nitroglycerin, Pennsylvania.
71. Tapping a Sugar Maple Tree, Pennsylvania.
72. Planting Trout in a Trout Stream, Wayne County, Penna.

73. Culp's Hill, Gettysburg, Penna.
74. Stripping Anthracite, Pennsylvania.
75. Coal Miners Coming Out of Cage at Bottom of Shaft to Start Work, Scranton, Penna.
76. Miner and Laborer at Work in Anthracite Mine, near Scranton, Penna.
77. Electric Motor Hauling Cars Loaded with Coal to Foot of Shaft, near Scranton, Penna.
78. Anthracite Mine Shaft, near Scranton, Penna.
79. Coal Breaker, near Scranton, Penna.
80. Liberty Bell, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Penna.
81. Winding Bobbins with Woolen Yarn for Weaving, Philadelphia, Penna.
82. General View of the Erecting Shop, Baldwin Locomotive Works, Philadelphia, Penna.
83. State Highway Safeguards and Patrol, near Meadville, Penna.
84. Coining Presses, Government Mint, Philadelphia, Penna.

K-3. SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES (27 Slides)

Delaware

85. Gathering Peaches, Delaware.

Maryland

86. On the Deck of an Oyster Boat, Chesapeake Bay, Md.

District of Columbia

87. Washington, D. C., from an Airplane.
88. President Wilson Reading His War Message to Joint Session of the Houses of Congress, Washington, D. C.
89. Zero Milestone and South Portico of the White House, Washington, D. C.
90. White House, Treasury, Pennsylvania Avenue, and Capitol from War Building, Washington, D. C.
91. The White House and Executive Offices, Washington, D. C.
92. President Wilson and His War Cabinet.
93. From the Washington Monument to the Capitol, Washington, D. C.
94. Numbering, Seal Printing, and Separating Paper Money, Bureau of Printing and Engraving, Washington, D. C.
95. Reading-Room of Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.

Virginia

96. Home of Washington, Mt. Vernon, Va.
97. A Huge Pile of Oyster Shells to Be Used as "Bedding" for Young Oysters, Hampton, Va.
98. Spraying with Arsenate of Lead, Truck Gardens, near Norfolk, Va.
99. General View of Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va.
100. Great Warships in Hampton Roads for the Jamestown Exposition, April 26, 1907, Va.

West Virginia

101. Confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

North Carolina

102. Overlooking the Blue Ridge Mountains from Mt. Toxaway, N. C.
103. Making Charcoal in the Mountains of Western North Carolina.

South Carolina

104. Cultivating Rice, South Carolina.
105. Pressing Oil from Cooked Cotton Seed, South Carolina.

Georgia

106. Rosin on the Docks, Savannah, Ga.
107. Chipping Virgin Turpentine Trees, Georgia.

Florida

108. Harvesting Pineapples in Southern Florida.
109. The Plaza and Old Slave Market, St. Augustine, Fla.
110. Boxing Grapefruit in Modern Plant, Florida.
111. Washing Sponges on the Deck of a Sponge Boat, Tarpon Springs, Fla.

K-4. SOUTH CENTRAL STATES (16 Slides)

Kentucky

112. Hanging Tobacco in Shed for Curing, Lexington, Ky.
113. Cabin in Which Abraham Lincoln Was Born, Hodgenville, Ky.

Tennessee

114. Chattanooga and Tennessee River Valley from Lookout Mountain, Tenn.
115. Mining Phosphate and Loading Cars, near Columbia, Tenn.

Alabama

116. Wilson Dam, Muscle Shoals, Ala.

Mississippi

117. Picking Cotton on a Mississippi Plantation.

Arkansas

118. Harvester Cutting Rice in Arkansas.

Louisiana

119. Cotton on the Levee—River Steamboats, New Orleans, La.
120. In the Mississippi Delta at Head of Passes, Looking North from the Pilot's Tower to Cubit's Gap, La.

Oklahoma

121. Burning Tank of Oil, Jenks, Okla.

Texas

122. The Burkburnett Oil Fields, Texas.
123. Oil Tankers and Barges at Pier, Port Arthur, Tex.
124. Wagon Loads of Cotton Waiting Their Turn at the Gin, Texas.
125. Cotton Gin, Greenville, Tex.
126. General View of the Alamo, San Antonio, Tex.
127. Making a Drive on the Paloduro Ranch, Paloduro, Tex.

K-5. NORTH CENTRAL STATES (59 Slides)

Ohio

128. Dumping Whole Cars of Coal into Hopper to Be Poured into Vessel's Hold, Conneaut, Ohio.
129. United States Air Mail Plane at Cleveland, Ohio.
130. Corrugating and Washing Rubber Just Received from the Plantation, Akron, Ohio.
131. Taking Automobile Tires from the Curing Pits, Akron, Ohio.
132. Building Up Automobile Tires, Akron, Ohio.

133. Testing Cord Fabric for Automobile Tires, Akron, Ohio.
134. Method of Placing Material in Furnace, Plate Glass Works, Rossford, Ohio.
135. Inspecting Plate Glass after Polishing, Rossford, Ohio.

Indiana

136. Corn Harvester on an Indiana Farm.
137. Field of Pumpkins and Corn in the Shock, Indiana.
138. Sand Dunes, Dune Park, Ind.

Illinois

139. State and Madison Streets, at a Busy Hour, Chicago.
140. Union Stockyards, Chicago.
141. The Last Process in Dressing Beef—Washing with Boiling Water, Chicago.
142. Splitting Backbones and Final Inspection of Hogs before Placing Them in the Refrigerator Rooms, Chicago.
143. Trimming Bacon, Stockyards Packing House, Chicago.
144. Chicago from an Airplane.
145. Shearing Sheep with Power Driven Shears, Kirkland, Ill.
146. Union Station and Chicago River, Chicago.
147. Hauling Oats from the Field—Showing the Prairie—Illinois.
148. Building Dikes to Protect the City from the Flood, E. St. Louis, Ill.

Michigan

149. Harvesting Celery Blanched by Boards in Michigan's Famous Celery Fields, Kalamazoo, Mich.
150. Assembling Room—Chassis Ready for Engines—Automobile Plant, Detroit, Mich.
151. Experts Testing Motors in an Automobile Plant, Detroit, Mich.
152. Employees Leaving the Ford Motor Company's Factory, Detroit, Mich.
153. Packing Salt into Barrels for Shipment, St. Clair, Mich.
154. Large Iron Ore Boat Coming into Sabin Locks, Sault Ste Marie, Mich.
155. Loading Cars with Copper Rock a Mile Underground, Calumet-Hecla Mines, Mich.
156. Pouring Molten Copper into Ingot Molds, Calumet-Hecla Smelters, Lake Linden, Mich.
157. Loading 1400 Tons of Copper on Boat, Houghton, Mich.
158. General Motors Office Building, Detroit, Mich.

Wisconsin

159. Group of Modern Dairy Barns and Herd of Holstein Cattle at Lake Mills, Wis.
160. Harvesting and Loading Silage Corn in Wisconsin's Famous Dairy Region.
161. Digging Ditch with Tractor and Laying Drain Tile, Wisconsin.

Minnesota

162. A Load of Logs at the Kettle River Landing, Minnesota.
163. Iron Ore Being Taken from an Open Pit Mine, Hibbing, Minn.
164. Looking between Ore Docks No. 2 and No. 3, Two Harbors, Minn.
165. Falls of St. Anthony and the Great Flour Mills, Minnesota.
166. The Old and the New Way of Digging Potatoes, Red River Valley, Minn.
167. Sacking and Weighing Flour by Automatic Machinery, Minneapolis, Minn.

168. Preparing the Dough in the Mixing-Room of a Large Bakery, St. Paul, Minn.
169. Cut- and Burned-over Timber Land, near Duluth, Minn.

Iowa

170. Power Dam and Locks in Mississippi River, between Keokuk, Iowa, and Hamilton, Ill.
171. Fifteen Large Generators Driven in a Row, Supplied by Water Power from the Great Dam at Keokuk, Iowa.
172. A Modern Iowa Farm.
173. Shropshire, Oxford, and Cotswold Sheep in Pasture, Iowa State College, Ames.

Missouri

174. The Magnificent Eads Bridge, St. Louis, Mo.
175. Picking, Sorting, and Packing Apples in Barrels, Ozark Apple Region, Mo.
176. Shaft House, Smelter, and Tailing Pile, Zinc and Lead Mines, Joplin, Mo.

North Dakota

177. Threshing Wheat in the Red River Valley, N. D.

South Dakota

178. Plowing Rich Prairie Soil with Tractor, South Dakota.
179. Tractor Drawing Double Disk and a Three-Section Tooth Harrow, South Dakota.

Nebraska

180. Looking across Sugar Beet Fields and Sugar Plant, Platte River Valley, Scotts Bluff, Nebr.
181. Unloading Sugar Beets from Wagons and Railway Cars at a Sugar Factory, Nebraska.
182. Mounted Sioux Indians in "Full Feather" Leaving Camp, Nebraska.

Kansas

183. Poland China Hogs Feeding in a Rich Alfalfa Pasture, Kansas.
184. Loading Alfalfa Hay with Hay Loader, near Topeka, Kan.
185. Hereford Cattle in Kansas Feeding Pens, Showing Open Air Feeding Shed, Manhattan, Kan.
186. Cowboy and Horse Holding a Roped Cow, Kansas.

K-6. PLATEAU STATES (28 Slides)

Montana

187. Copper Smelters and Mines, Butte, Mont.
188. Blackfeet Indians Preparing for Medicine Lodge Ceremony, Glacier National Park, Mont.
189. Herd of American Bison, Montana.

Idaho

190. Sheep Grazing on Range, Idaho.

Wyoming

191. The Golden Gate and Concrete Viaduct, Yellowstone National Park.
192. Minerva Terrace, Yellowstone National Park.
193. The Devil's Ink Pot, a Boiling Spring, Yellowstone National Park.
194. The Most Famous Sight in Yellowstone Park, "Old Faithful" Geyser in Action.

195. Rocky Mountain Divide, Yellowstone National Park.
196. A Beaver Dam, Yellowstone National Park.
197. Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, Yellowstone National Park.

Colorado

198. Cultivating a Field of Sugar Beets in Colorado.
199. Harvesting Barley—Combined Harvester and Threshing Machine Drawn by Tractor, near Fort Collins, Colo.
200. Phoebe's Arch, Palmer Lake, Colo.
201. Pike's Peak, through the Gateway of the Garden of the Gods, Colo.
202. In the Royal Gorge, Grand Canyon of the Arkansas, Colo.
203. Stamp Mill and Gold Concentrator, Ouray, Colo.
204. Ute Indian and Family, Colorado.
205. Ruins of Cliff Dwellers' Palace in the Mesa Verde, Colo.

Arizona

206. Petrified Trees and Painted Desert, Arizona.
207. Cultivating a Field of Egyptian Long Staple Cotton in the Salt River Valley, near Phoenix, Ariz.
208. The Grand Canyon of the Colorado, Ariz.
209. The Effects of Irrigation on Arizona Desert, Giant Cactus in foreground, Salt River Valley, Ariz.
210. The Great Roosevelt Dam, near Phoenix, Ariz.

New Mexico

211. Pueblo of the Taos Indians, Taos, N. M.

Utah

212. General View of Salt Lake City, Utah.
213. Mormon Temple and Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Nevada

214. A Silver Mining Camp Nestled in the Mountains, Nevada.

K-7. PACIFIC STATES (28 Slides)

Washington

215. Great Chained Log Rafts on the Columbia River, Washington.
216. Huge Sawmill and Mill Pond, near Seattle, Puget Sound, Wash.
217. Loading Lumber on Ships, Washington.
218. Harvesting Wheat in Pacific Northwest—Combined Reaper and Thresher, Washington.
219. Mt. Rainer and the Nisqually River, Mt. Rainer National Park, Wash.
220. General View of Seattle and Puget Sound, Wash.

Oregon

221. Mount Hood, Oregon, from an Airplane.
222. Wizard Island, Crater Lake, Ore.
223. Line of Sand Dunes, Columbia River, Ore.
224. Great Trees That Grow in the Northwest, Showing Method of Felling, Oregon.
225. Hydraulic Mining, Oregon.
226. First Haul of the Season, Salmon Industry, Columbia River, Ore.
227. Cleaning Salmon—Interior of a Canning Establishment, Astoria, Ore.

California

228. The Sierras from Glacier Rock, Yosemite Valley, Calif.

229. The Wawona Tunnel Tree and Surrounding Forest, Mariposa Grove, Yosemite National Park, Calif.
230. San Francisco, Calif., from an Airplane.
231. Remarkable Earthquake Fissure in the Sobrante Hills, near Berkeley, Calif.
232. Ship Entering the Golden Gate, San Francisco, Calif.
233. Universal City, Where Motion Picture Films Are Made, near Los Angeles, Calif.
234. Harvesting Almonds, San Joaquin County, Calif.
235. Smudge Fires in Pear Orchard, California.
236. Interior of Peach Cannery, Visalia, Calif.
237. Irrigating Large Groves of Orange Trees, Redlands, Calif.
238. Fig Orchard in the Sacramento Valley, Calif.
239. Ostrich Farm, California.
240. Picking Olives from Grafted Trees, Sylmar, Calif.
241. San Gabriel Mission, California.
242. Band Saw Cutting Redwood Log, California.

K-8. OUTLYING POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES (19 Slides)

(Except the Philippines and Guam)

Alaska

243. First Miners of Great Gold Rush Climbing Chilkoot Pass, Alaska.
244. Drying Fish on the Yukon River, Alaska.
245. Placer Mining, near the Yukon River, Alaska.
246. Gold Miners and Dog Team North of the Arctic Circle, Alaska.

Panama Canal Zone

247. Rubber Tree, Showing Scars from Cutting, and Other Tropical Vegetation, Panama.
248. Looking Down on the City and Bay of Panama from Ancon Hill, Panama.
249. Dwellings Erected for Employees of Old French Canal Company, Colon, Panama.
250. Abandoned French Machinery on Banks of Panama Canal near Cristobal, Panama.
251. Excavations Measuring 500 Feet Deep in Gaillard Cut, Panama.
252. North over Gatun Locks and Sea Level Entrance to Panama Canal —Atlantic Ocean in the Distance.
253. South over Gatun Locks and Gatun Lake—Emergency Dam in Position.
254. U. S. S. *Missouri*, the First Battleship to Make Its Passage through the Panama Canal.
255. Hospital Grounds and Ancon Hill from Hotel Tivoli, Panama.
256. At Pacific Entrance of Panama Canal, Showing Fortified Islands, Wireless Towers, and Breakwater.

Porto Rico

257. Overlooking the Harbor, San Juan, Porto Rico.
258. Cutting Sugar Cane, Rio Pedro, Porto Rico.

Hawaii

259. Papaya Trees in the Mauna Loa Valley, Hawaii.
260. Honolulu from Airy Height of the Punch Bowl to the Sea, Hawaii.
261. Pineapple Plantation, First- and Second-Years' Growth, near Honolulu.

K-9. NORTHERN COUNTRIES OF NORTH AMERICA (18 Slides)

Canada

262. "In the Acadian Land, on the Shores of the Basin of Minas," Nova Scotia.
263. Indian Basket Weaving, Prince Edward Island.
264. Quebec, from Tower of the Parliament Building, Looking across the St. Lawrence to Levis.
265. Indian Woman Working on Moose Hide, near Atlin, British Columbia.
266. The Land of the Habitant, near Quebec, Canada.
267. The Wharves, Montreal, Canada.
268. Winding Linen Yarn on Bobbins, Guelph, Ontario.
269. Weaving Linen, Guelph, Ontario.
270. 19,000 Cords of Pulpwood at Fort William, Ontario.
271. Beet Pulp and Juice Flowing into Large Iron Tanks to Be Subjected to Diffusion by Water.
272. Scraping the Hair from the Hides by Machinery, Tanning Industry, Montreal.
273. Royal Canadian Mounted Police Headquarters, Calgary, Alberta.
274. A Treacherous Crevasse in Victoria Glacier, Mt. Lefroy and Mt. Victoria in Distance, Canadian Rockies, Canada.
275. Iceberg Just Broken from Glacier, near Prince Rupert, British Columbia.
276. Mt. Sir Donald, the Matterhorn of the North American Alps, British Columbia.
277. Inner Harbor, Victoria, British Columbia.

Newfoundland

278. A Fishing Village near St. John's, Newfoundland.
279. Eskimo Dog Team on Trail, Hopedale, Labrador.

K-10. SOUTHERN COUNTRIES OF NORTH AMERICA (11 Slides)

Mexico

280. Mexico's Principal Harbor, Vera Cruz.
281. Home of the Peon, an Adobe Hut, Mexico City.
282. Mexico City, the Ancient Tenochtitlan of the Aztecs.
283. Hat Market, Mexico City.
284. Pyramid of the Sun, from Pyramid of the Moon, San Juan, Teotihuacan, Mexico.
285. Plowing in a Field of Maguey, Mexico.
286. Carding-Room, Cotton Mills, Orizaba, Mexico.
287. Grinding and Pressing Sugar Cane by a Horse-Power Press, Monterey, Mexico.
288. Salt Market, Cuernavaca, Mexico.
289. Henequen, the Wealth of Yucatan, from Which Sisal Hemp Fiber Is Produced, Mexico.
290. Indian Village in Mexico.

K-11. CENTRAL AMERICA AND WEST INDIES (13 Slides)

Guatemala

291. Escuintla and the Twin Volcanoes, Fuego and Acatenango, Guatemala.

Salvador

292. Tortilla Making, Salvador.

Nicaragua

293. San Carlos and San Juan River, Nicaragua.

Costa Rica

294. Harvesting Bananas, Costa Rica.

Cuba

295. Coffee from Porto Rico, Havana Wharf, Cuba.
296. Havana Harbor, Cuba—*Maine* Wreck in the Distance.
297. Cutting Tobacco in the Shade of Banana Trees, Province of Havana, Cuba.
298. Farming Scene, Province of Havana, Cuba.
299. Santiago and the Harbor, Cuba.

Guadeloupe

300. Earthquake Fissure in the Rock, Guadeloupe.
301. Coffee Pickers at Work, Guadeloupe.

Jamaica

302. A Cattle Ranch in Jamaica.

Dominica

303. CaCao Tree with Full Grown Pods, Dominica.

K-12. SOUTH AMERICA (38 Slides)

304. Lower City and Harbor, Bahia, Brazil.
305. Avenida Rio Branco on a Holiday, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
306. Rio de Janeiro, Sugarloaf and Bay Entrance, Brazil.
307. View down the Slope of Santa Theresa toward the Harbor, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
308. Loading Bananas on Ship in Harbor, Santos, Brazil.
309. The Municipal Theater, Sao Paulo, Brazil.
310. Drying Coffee in the Sun, State of Sao Paulo, Brazil.
311. Carts Loaded with Coffee Leaving the Plantation, State of Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Uruguay

312. Public Square and Cathedral, Montevideo, Uruguay.
313. Great Dredge by Which the Harbor Is Made Navigable, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Argentina

314. Great Electric Cranes beside Ships at Docks, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
315. Molding and Drying Adobe Brick, Mendoza, Argentina.
316. Shipping and Docks, from Customhouse, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
317. Argentina's Famous Cattle on Range—La Plata, Argentina.
318. Lime Kilns at Cordoba, Argentina.
319. Italian Settler and Family, Vineyards in Background, Mendoza, Argentina.
320. Sediment of the Grape Juice to Be Used for Fertilizer, Mendoza, Argentina.
321. Along the Mendoza River in the Andean Foothills, Argentina.

Chile

322. Inca Lake, Nestling in the Heart of the Andes.
323. Railway Station in the Andes, Juncal, Chile.
324. Cathedral and Plaza, Santiago, Chile.
325. Nitrate for Agriculture and for War Being Sacked for Shipment, Chile.
326. The Bay and City, Valparaiso, Chile.

327. Goods Arriving at Dock for Shipment, Valparaiso, Chile.
328. Indians on the Straits of Magellan, near Punta Arenas, Chile.

Peru

329. Indian Women and Children Sorting Wool in Market Place, Arequipa, Peru.
330. Peruvian Central Railway and the Rimac River Gorge in the Andes Mountains, Peru.
331. Natives near Wall of Incan Palace, Cuzco, Peru.
332. Street Scene and Everyday Life in Cerro de Pasco, Peru.
333. Planting Sugar Cane in a Large Hacienda, near Lima, Peru.
334. Refining Silver in Smelter at the Famous Mining Center of Cerro de Pasco, Peru.

Bolivia

335. Famous Copacabana Church, near Lake Titicaca, Llama in Foreground, Bolivia.

Ecuador

336. A Street Scene in Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Colombia

337. Water Carriers and Thatched-Roof Homes, Barranquilla, Colombia.

Venezuela

338. Overlooking Caracas, the Capital of Venezuela.
339. In Narrow Streets of La Guaira, Venezuela.
340. National University and Halls of Congress, Caracas, Venezuela.
341. The City Baker Making His Daily Rounds, Caracas, Venezuela.

K-13. POLAR REGIONS (5 Slides)

Arctic

342. Twin Ships, *Windward* and *Erie*, Peary Expedition, 1901—at Nuerke, Greenland.
343. Eskimo Girls in Clothing Made from Skins, Cape York, Greenland. (See also 246, Alaska and 413, 414, and 415, Norway.)

Antarctic

344. Hauling Snow for Water Supply, Belgica Antarctic Expedition, 1897-99.
345. Commander Adrian de Gerlache, Leader of the Belgica Expedition, Hunting Seals on Skis, 1897-99.
346. Roald Amundsen, Discoverer of South Pole, Inspecting Ice Field near Glacier, December 16, 1911, Antarctic Ocean.

K-14. BRITISH ISLES (36 Slides)

England

347. The Landing Stage, Liverpool, England.
348. London Bridge from Surrey Side of the Thames, England.
349. Tower of London, London, England.
350. Westminster Abbey, London, England.
351. The Old Bank of England and the Royal Exchange, London, England.
352. The House of Lords, London, England.
353. Chronometer by Which the World's Time Is Measured, Greenwich, England.
354. Birthplace of William Shakespeare, Stratford-on-Avon, England.
355. Anne Hathaway's Cottage, Shottery, England.

356. Floating Dry Dock at Southampton, England.
357. Knitting Machines at Work in the Wolsey Woolen Factory, Leicester, England.
358. Wet Grinding Department in a Cutlery Plant, Sheffield, England.
359. Plymouth Sound, Drake's Island, and H. M. S. *Resolution*, Plymouth, England.
360. Old Roman Walls from York Minster, York, England.
361. Lake Grasmere and Village from Red Bank, Lake District, England.
362. Manchester Ship Canal Traffic, Manchester, England.

Wales

363. Conway Castle, a Strong Medieval Fortress, Conway, Wales.

Channel Islands

364. Jersey Cattle, the Most Famous Product in the Island of Jersey.

Scotland

365. Princes Street Gardens and Sir Walter Scott's Monument, Edinburgh, Scotland.
366. The Great Forth Bridge and Natives in Kilts, near Edinburgh, Scotland.
367. Historic Stirling Castle, Scotland.
368. Scotland and the Wallace Monument from Stirling Castle, Scotland.
369. Ellen's Isle, Loch Katrine, Scotland.
370. The Old Forth Bridge, Stirling, Scotland.
371. The Valley of the Tay, Scotland.
372. Burns' Cottage—Room Where the Poet Was Born, Ayre, Scotland.
373. A Primitive Highland Home, Scotland.

Ireland

374. Queenstown Harbor (Cobh), Ireland.
375. The Thursday Live Stock Market Place in High St., Killarney, Ireland.
376. Shipbuilding Yards, Belfast, Ireland.
377. Lower Lake Killarney from Lord Kenmare's Mansion, County Kerry, Ireland.
378. Cutting Peat in Northwest Ireland.
379. Farmyard and Rural Scene, County Kerry, Ireland.
380. The O'Connell Monument and the Nelson Pillar, Sackville Street, Dublin, Ireland.
381. Irish Village, Mountain Road, and Jaunting Car, County Donegal, Ireland.
382. The Giant's Causeway on the Coast of Northern Ireland.

K-15. GERMANY (12 Slides)

383. Looking West from the City Hall, over Berlin, Germany.
384. The Former Palace of the Kaisers, Berlin, Germany.
385. An Open-Air China Market, Koblenz, Germany.
386. Hamburg Harbor, Germany.
387. Overlooking Oberammergau from Mt. Kofel, Germany.
388. Making Hay in the Highlands of Bavaria, Germany.
389. The Cathedral at Cologne, Germany.
390. The Mouse Tower and Ehrenfels Castle on the Rhine, Germany.
391. Rhine Valley at Bingen, Germany.
392. The Great Bridge over the Rhine at Bonn, Germany.
393. Growing Hops and Harvesting Barley on a Bavarian Farm, near Bamberg, Germany.
394. Zeppelin ZR-3 Acquired by the United States from Germany.

K-16. BELGIUM AND HOLLAND (9 Slides)

395. Looking through the Porte d'Ostende in the Old City Wall, Bruges, Belgium.
396. Milk Cart, Antwerp, Belgium.
397. River Meuse and Parc de la Citadel, Namur, Belgium.
398. Retting Flax, Courtrai, Belgium.
399. Canals and Windmill, Netherlands.
400. On the Leuvehaven, Rotterdam, Netherlands.
401. A Dutch Fishing Village, Island of Marken, Netherlands.
402. Quaint Street in Marken, near Amsterdam, Netherlands.
403. Dutch Farm Hands Milking Holstein-Friesian Cattle, near Rotterdam, Netherlands.

K-17. SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES (17 Slides)

404. Preparing Prize Butter for the European Markets in a Modern Dairy, Denmark.
405. A Busy Market Square, Copenhagen, Denmark.
406. Busy Harbor of Copenhagen, Denmark.
407. The Lotefos, Norway's Most Famous Waterfall.
408. In the Fair and Fertile Jordal Valley, Buarbrae Glacier in Distance, Norway.
409. Spinning as We See It in a Telemarken Home, Norway.
410. Making Flat Bread in a Norwegian Home.
411. Where the Sea Reaches Far In among the Mountains, Gudvangen's Outlook over Naerofjord, Norway.
412. Grindstones Which Convert Blocks into Wood Pulp, Manufacture of Paper, Skotifos, Norway.
413. Laplanders Milking the Reindeer, Norway.
414. Midnight Sun, North Cape, Lapland, Norway.
415. Floating Whale Station, Spitzbergen, Norway.
416. General View of Stockholm, Sweden.
417. Harvesting Barley, Sweden.
418. Farmers Stacking Barley in the Field, Sweden.
419. Women Weeding a Field of Sugar Beets, Sweden.
420. Customhouse Scene and Harbor of the Enterprising City of Göteborg, Sweden.

K-18. FRANCE (11 Slides)

421. Bird's-Eye View of Paris and the Seine River, France.
422. Avenue des Champs Elysées, Paris, France.
423. Threshing Scene, Village of Plozevet, France.
424. Breton Peasants Making Wooden Shoes in the Forest near Clohars-Carnoet, France.
425. Notre Dame, Paris, France.
426. Steel-helmeted Scots in the World War Entrenched and Awaiting a Counterattack, France.
427. Marshal Foch, General Pershing, Madame Joffre, Marshal Joffre, and General Dubail at Paris during the World War.
428. Mer de Glace, from the Montanvert, Chamonix, France.
429. The Cathedral, Marseilles, France.
430. A Seaside Paradise, Cannes, France.
431. Women Washing Clothes, Nice, France.

K-19. SPAIN AND MONACO (8 Slides)

432. Monaco—The Prince's Castle in View.
433. Harbor of Barcelona, Looking towards Columbus Monument and Customhouse, Spain.

434. General View of Burgos, Spain.
435. Panorama of Madrid Showing Fete Celebration in the Foreground, Spain.
436. Alhambra Palace, Granada, Spain.
437. Picking Valencia Oranges near Valencia, Spain.
438. Andalusian Carts Coming into Town, Almeria, Spain.
439. Rock of Gibraltar.

K-20. SWITZERLAND (10 Slides)

440. To the Clouds by Rail, Mt. Pilatus, Switzerland.
441. Braving Alpine Perils—On the Top of Mt. Pilatus Overlooking a Sea of Clouds, Switzerland.
442. The Kapellbrücke Crossing the River Reuss, Lucerne, Switzerland.
443. The Wood Carver, Meiringen, Switzerland.
444. Lauterbrunnen Valley and the Lovely Falls of Staubbach, Switzerland.
445. A Mountain Chalet, Grindelwald, Switzerland.
446. Blowing the Alpine Horn, Grindelwald, Switzerland.
447. Lake Geneva and the Dent-du-Midi, from Village of Glion, Switzerland.
448. The Matterhorn, Switzerland.
449. Swiss Mountaineers Packing Heavy Loads up a Steep Trail.

K-21. ITALY (10 Slides)

450. Rome from the Balcony of St. Peter's, Italy.
451. The Leaning Tower and the Eleventh Century Cathedral, Pisa, Italy.
452. The Ruins of the Colosseum, Rome, Italy.
453. The Ruins of the Roman Forum.
454. A Neapolitan Team, Naples, Italy.
455. Street Scene in Tenement District, Palermo, Sicily.
456. Vecchio Bridge across the River Arno, Florence, Italy.
457. Grand Canal, Venice, Italy.
458. The Cathedral, Milan, Italy.
459. Lake Como and the Village of Como, Italy.

K-22. BALKAN COUNTRIES (21 Slides)

Austria

460. Maria Theresa Platz, Innsbruck, Austria.
461. The Drei Zinnen in Tyrol, Austria.
462. Along the Danube Canal in the Very Heart of Vienna, Austria.

Czechoslovakia

463. Praha, the Capital of Czechoslovakia, Looking towards the Ancient Royal Palace and St. Vitus Cathedral.
464. Old Town Square and Teyn Church, Praha, Czechoslovakia.

Hungary

465. Liberty Square with Parliament House, Budapest, Hungary.

Yugoslavia

466. Natives in Market Place, Serajevo, Yugoslavia.
467. Junction of Save and Danube Rivers, Hungarian City of Semlin in Distance, from Heights of Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria

468. Street Scene Showing Peasant Woman and Sidewalk Coffee House, Sofia, Bulgaria.

469. Native Market Scene, Rustchuk, Bulgaria.

Rumania

470. The Great Railway Bridge over the Danube River at Czernavoda, Rumania.
471. Rumanian Mother and Children, Orsova, Rumania.

Turkey

472. Beautiful Constantinople, City of Two Continents—Asia in Distance, Turkey.
473. Mosque of St. Sophia, Constantinople, Turkey.
474. Street Scene in Constantinople, Turkey.

Greece

475. Old and New Athens, Greece.
476. Pass of Thermopylae from Hillocks East of Pass, Greece.
477. Excavators at Work, Old Corinth, Greece.
478. Ancient Greek Theater, Epidauros, Greece.
479. North over Pharsalia, Greece.
480. Shepherds and Their Flocks on the Argive Plain, Greece.

K-23. EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (8 Slides)

Finland

481. Fishwives of Finland on the Quay, Finland.

Russia and the Ukraine

482. Tower of Ivan and Cathedral of the Archangel Michael, Kremlin, Moscow.
483. The Moskva River, the Kremlin, and the Spires of Holy Moscow, Russia.
484. Interesting Peasant Folk in the Street of a Rural Village in Russia.
485. Exporting Wheat at Odessa on the Black Sea, Ukraine, Russia.
486. Quaint Dairy Maids Delivering Milk in Earthenware Jars Suspended on Poles, Kief, Ukraine, Russia.
487. Plowing with a Primitive Plow, Russia.

Poland

488. Bread Market, Cracow, the Ancient Polish Capital.

K-24. ASIA (56 Slides)

Turkey in Asia

489. Looking up the Bosporus toward the Black Sea from Heights above Scutari, Turkey in Asia.
490. City Blacksmith Shoeing Buffalo on Streets of Tarsus, Turkey in Asia.

Syria

491. Bird's-Eye View of Beirut, Syria.
492. Over the Roofs and "The Street Called Straight," Damascus, Syria.

Irak

493. Building the Peculiar Round Boats Called Kufus on the Tigris River at Bagdad, Irak.
494. An Arab Village of Reed Mats and a Round Fort on Lower Euphrates, Irak.

Palestine

495. View of Jerusalem from Mount of Olives, Palestine.
496. Bethlehem of Judea, the Birthplace of Jesus, Palestine.
497. The Threshing Floor of Nazareth, Palestine.
498. Native Women Grinding Wheat, Palestine.

India Proper

499. Sacred Hindu Cattle on the Street, Calcutta, India.
500. The Howrah Bridge over the Hooghly River in the Delta of the Ganges, Calcutta, India.
501. Pilgrims Bathing in the Sacred Ganges before the Temple of Benares, the Religious Center of India.
502. The Taj Mahal, Agra, India.
503. Crowds of Mohammedans Leaving the Jumma Mosque, Delhi, India.
504. Varied Life on the Streets of Jaipur, India.
505. Stately Elephants on Parade, Jaipur, India.
506. Spinning and Weaving Woolen Shawls, Srinagar, Kashmir, India.
507. Inflated Bullock Skins for Ferryboats in Sutlej River in the Punjab, India.
508. Above the Clouds in the Himalayas, India.

Burma

509. Elephants Hauling Logs from the Salwin River, Maulmain, Burma.

Siam

510. Royal Elephant Hunt, Siam.

Ceylon

511. Colombo Harbor from the Landing Jetty, Ceylon.
512. Grinding Gems—Garnets, Rubies, Sapphires, and Moonstones—at Ratnapora, Ceylon.

China and Manchuria

513. Nanking Road, Principal Chinese Street of Shanghai, China.
514. On the River, Canton, China.
515. The Yangtze River Valley at Chinkiang, China.
516. Sawing Lumber by Hand in a Chinese Lumber Yard.
517. The Great City Wall Surrounding Nanking, China.
518. Train of Bactrian Camels, Peiping, China.
519. An Open-Air Restaurant, Peiping, China.
520. A Schoolroom in the Jesuit Orphanage School, Shanghai, China.
521. A Glimpse of Chinese Life on Nanking Road—A Native Tea House, Shanghai, China.
522. Chinese Farmer Boys Tilling the Soil, near Port Arthur, China.
523. Women Pumping Water by Treadmill, near Hankow, China.
524. Great Wall of China on Rugged Hills near Hankow Pass.

Japan Proper

525. Fuji, Japan.
526. Overlooking the Harbor, from the Kanagawa Heights, Yokohama, Japan.
527. Girls Putting the Finishing Touches on Bamboo Baskets, Japan.
528. Rice Planters at Work, Japan.
529. Cutting Rice Close to the Ground with a Sickle, Japan.
530. A Country Girl of Old Japan—Among the Famous Tea Fields of Shizuoka, Japan.
531. Drying Sardines on the Beach, Beppu, Japan.
532. A Japanese Shoe Shop, Japan.

533. A Japanese Room with a Bed on the Floor, Japan.
534. A Charming Outlook over Fertile Fields and Cozy Homes at Kiryu, Japan.
535. A Japanese Garden, Japan.
536. Silkworm Incubator, Japan.
537. Gathering Mulberry Leaves for the Silkworms, Japan.
538. Feeding Mulberry Leaves to the Voracious Young Silkworms, Japan.
539. Making Nests for the Silkworms, Japan.
540. Reeling Silk from Cocoons, Kiryu, Japan.
541. One of Japan's Largest Modern Silk Weaving Plants—American Machinery and Methods, Kiryu, Japan.

Chosen (Korea)

542. White-robed Pottery Peddlers on the Streets of Seoul, Chosen.
543. Traffic outside the South City Gate, Seoul, Chosen.

Siberia

544. Boarding the Train at Kansk, Siberia.

K-25. EAST INDIES (9 Slides)

Java

545. An Active Volcano in Java.

Philippines

546. House Boats on the Pasig River, Manilla, P. I.
547. Native Houses near Manila, P. I.
548. Cattle Used as Pack Animals and for Riding—Mayon in the Background, Island of Luzon, P. I.
549. Filipino Farmers Harrowing Rice Fields near Manila, P. I.
550. Collecting Latex on a Rubber Plantation, Basilan Island, P. I.
551. Husking Coconuts, Island of Luzon, P. I.
552. Stripping the Bark off a Hemp Tree, Philippine Islands.
553. Making Hemp Rope in a Native Rope Factory, Philippine Islands.

Guam

554. Mission Home Grounds, Island of Guam.

K-26. AFRICA (30 Slides)

Morocco

555. Arabs in the Busy Market Place, Tangier, Morocco.

Algeria

556. Harbor of Algiers, Algeria.

Tunis

557. Outside of the Fine Old Gate, Bab-el-Hathera, Tunis.

Egypt

558. Arab Grocery Shop, Cairo, Egypt.
559. The Suez Canal from an Ocean Liner, Egypt.
560. View of Cairo from Gami Ibn Tulen, Egypt.
561. Tilling the Soil as in Ancient Days, Egypt.
562. Threshing Beans in the Field, Egypt.
563. Native Boys Spinning Cotton, Egypt.
564. Inundation of the Nile, Egypt.
565. The Sphinx, Gizeh, Egypt.
566. A Native Nobleman on His Mount, Sakkara, Egypt.
567. A Caravan Leaving an Oasis in the Desert, Egypt.

568. Ruins of Karnak, Egypt.
569. The Aswan Dam, Nile River, Egypt.

British and Central Africa

570. Peeling Bark for Making Bark Cloth, Uganda, Africa.
571. Sisal Hemp Plantation in Blossom, Uganda, Africa.
572. The Native Market at Port Florence, Lake Victoria Nyanza, Africa.
573. Shipping Ivory at Mombasa, Africa.
574. Dar-es-Salaam, the Chief City and Port of Tanganyika Territory, Africa.
575. Cape-to-Cairo Railway Bridge over Zambezi River, near Victoria Falls, Africa.
576. Victoria Falls on the Zambezi River, Rhodesia, Africa.
577. Bringing to a Trading Post Crude Rubber Rolled into Balls, Djoko Punda, Belgian Congo.
578. Kaffirs Traveling Overland on Foot, South Africa.
579. Gold Quartz Mining, Johannesburg, South Africa.
580. Climbing through a Tropical Jungle, Central Africa.
581. Diamond Mining, Kimberley, South Africa.
582. "The Compound" for Diamond Mine Employees, Kimberley, South Africa.
583. The Country Home of Cecil Rhodes, Cape Town, South Africa.
584. Penguins on Dassen Island near Cape Town, South Africa.

K-27. AUSTRALIA AND ISLANDS (8 Slides)

New South Wales

585. The Fourth Port of the British Empire, Sydney, Australia.

Victoria

586. Great Eucalyptus, or Gum, Trees, 400 Feet High, Australia.
587. Panorama of Melbourne, Australia.

South Australia

588. Kangaroos in the Zoölogical Garden, Adelaide, Australia.

Queensland

589. Sheep on the Range, Queensland, Australia.

Tasmania

590. Farms and Fields in the Derwent Valley, Tasmania.

New Zealand

591. Across Milford Sound, a Fjordlike Bay between Mountain Walls, West Coast of New Zealand.

New Guinea

592. In a Papuan Village, New Guinea.

K-28. EARTH'S NEIGHBORS (8 Slides)

593. The Sun Photographed through Forty-Inch Telescope, Yerkes Observatory.
594. The Full Moon, Yerkes Observatory.
595. Moon at Age of Seventeen Days, Yerkes Observatory.
596. The Planet Mars, Yerkes Observatory.
597. The Planet Saturn and Its Rings, Solar Observatory, Carnegie Institution, at Mount Wilson, California.
598. The Planet Uranus and Two of Its Moons, Yerkes Observatory.

599. Meteor in Constellation of Orion, Yerkes Observatory.
600. Morehouse's Comet, Yerkes Observatory.

K-29. SPAIN (45 Slides with Lecture)

Each slide labeled.

K-30. PHILIPPINES (45 Slides)

Labeled.

K-31. COTTON (24 Slides)

Showing cotton from the field to cotton cloth. Lecture with slides.

K-32. MAPS (9 Slides)

1. The world.
2. North America.
3. United States.
4. Eastern United States.
5. Central America.
6. France.
7. North America (20th Century).
8. Central North America in 1789.
9. Map of San Francisco Bay.

II. HISTORY

H-1. ROMAN TRADES AND CRAFTS (50 Slides)

Each slide has a card with explanatory notes.

1. *Aratrum* or Plow—from piece of engraved jasper stone.
2. Picks and Scrap Iron—photograph from originals found in Britain.
3. Implements of Husbandry—from originals found in Britain.
4. Spades—photographs from originals.
5. Agricultural Implements—various—photographs from drawing.
6. Mill for grinding grain—relief on Roman sarcophagus.
7. Mills—protograph from Pompeian originals.
8. Kneading Dough by Hand—relief from Tomb of Eurysaces.
9. Loaves of Bread—photograph from Pompeian remains.
10. Baker's Shop—Pompeian wall painting.
11. Forum Trade Scene—drawing from Pompeian wall painting.
12. Street Scene in Pompeii—painting by Forti.
13. Coins of the Republic—photograph.
14. Roman tools. Photograph.
15. Cook Shop—Pompeii—restoration.
16. Roman Shop Keeper—relief from Roman cippus.
17. Fisherman—use of rod and net—Pompeian wall painting.
18. Game and Poultry for Market—drawing from wall painting from Herculaneum.
19. Shop scene—painting by Friedrich.
20. Wine Dealers' Sign—slaves carrying *amphorae*—Pompeii.
21. Sign for Tavern or Butcher Shop—hams—relief.
22. Scene in an Inn (*taberna*)—drawing from Pompeian wall painting.
23. Hardware Dealer—relief on cippus.
24. Knives—photograph from originals found in Britain.
25. Blacksmith—relief on cippus.
26. Blacksmith's Tools—photograph from original found in Britain.
27. The Sacrifice. Painting by Forti.
28. Gold Smith—from relief on cippus.

29. Cobbler at Work—from painting on drinking cup.
30. Wall Material—forms of brick—drawing.
31. Architect—grave painting from Via Appia.
32. The Pharmacists. Wall painting.
33. Carpenter—grave relief.
34. Carpenter's Shop—relief on urn.
35. Carpenter Scene—gilt on glass bowl.
21. Roman glass and infant's feeding bottle. Roman York, Home.
22. Skillet bearing the maker's name. British Museum.
23. Force pump used by the Romans. British Museum.
24. Roman keys. Guildhall Museum.
25. Roman lamps. Guildhall Museum.
26. Roman decorated beakers. Yorkshire Museum.
27. Roman amphora. Guildhall Museum.
28. Spinning needles and implements. Guildhall Museum.
29. Leather shoe. British Museum.
30. Remarkably preserved hair of a Roman-British lady. Roman York.
31. Roman mathematical and surgical instruments. British Museum.
32. Scales from Silchester. Everyday Life in Roman Britain. Putnams.
33. Scissors, thimbles, needles, knives. British Museum.
34. Roman pottery. British Museum.
35. Glass cinerary urns. British Museum.
36. Castor ware with decorations. Yorkshire Museum.
37. Specimens of bronze Roman work. British Museum.
38. Bronze object with dieties of the week. Use unknown. British Museum.
39. Bracelet purse. British Museum.
40. Bronze head of Hadrain. British Museum.
41. Roman stone carving of lion and stag.
42. Memorial stone. Yorkshire Museum.
43. Altar to Mars. Kings Stanley.
44. Inscribed pigs of lead. British Museum.
45. Brush, mirror, pins and dish containing rouge. British Museum.
46. Oculists stamps. British Museum.
47. Statues of ivory. British Museum.
48. Golden triumphal medallion of Flavius Constantius.
49. Roman writing tablet and pens. British Museum.
50. Bronze statuette of Nero.

H-2. JULIUS CAESAR (51 Slides)

Each slide has a card with explanatory notes.

1. Caesar—mailed statue.
2. Map of Roman Dominions.
3. Map—The Seven-Hilled City.
4. "Cornelia and her Jewels"—modern painting.
5. Marius—portrait bust.
6. Sulla—portrait bust.
7. Pompey—portrait bust.
8. Factions at Rome—diagram.
9. Game of Castellum—relief.
10. Elementary School—ideal picture.
11. Wax Tablets—photograph from original found on Esquiline Hill.
12. Punishment in Roman School—Pompeian wall painting.
13. Higher School—ideal picture.
14. Roman Ships—Pompeian wall painting.
15. Caesar in Toga—portrait statue.
16. Roman Forum—restoration.

17. "Caesar at the Tomb of Alexander"—modern painting.
18. "Chariot Race"—Wagner.
19. "Gladiatorial Combat"—painting by Gerome.
20. "Naval Contest in Arena"—modern painting.
21. Pontifex Maximus—portrait statue.
22. Consul and Lictors—modern painting.
23. Map of Roman Dominions—repeated.
24. "The Bulwark of Rome"—legionary soldier—modern painting.
25. Roman army on the march—ideal picture.
26. Jura Pass—photograph.
27. Gallic Soldiers—drawing.
28. Siege Works—drawing.
29. Captive Gauls—ideal picture.
30. "Sub Corona"—modern painting.
31. Bridge across the Rhine—diagram.
32. Attack on a German Village—modern painting.
33. Dover Cliffs—photograph.
34. Landing of the Romans at Dover Cliffs—modern painting.
35. War Chariots—drawing.
36. Surrender of Vercingetorix—modern painting.
37. Roman Senate—modern painting.
38. "Caesar Crossing the Rubicon"—modern painting.
39. Ave Caesar. Painting by Forti.
40. "Cleopatra and Caesar"—painting by Gerome.
41. "A Roman Triumph"—modern painting.
42. Brutus and Cassius—illustration from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar.
43. Caesar's Warning—same as above.
44. "The Ides of March"—painting by Poynter.
45. "Assassination of Caesar"—painting by Rochegrosse.
46. "Assassination of Caesar"—representing a moment later than the above—painting by Gerome.
47. Slaves carrying out the dead body of Caesar—modern painting.
48. "Antony's Oration over Caesar's Body"—modern painting.
49. Coins of Caesar—photograph.
50. Head of Caesar—portrait statue.
51. A Memorial of Caesar.

III. SCIENCE

B-1. BIOLOGY (100 Slides)

Each slide has a card with explanatory notes.

Cells

1. Animal cells—Cell division in the egg of the rocky mountain locust (Magnified).
2. Blood cells—Red and white corpuscles (magnified) of a salamander.
3. Plant cells—Cambium layer of a Poplar (magnified).
4. Plant cells—Section of Hyacinth root (magnified).

Seeds

5. Seeds and seed coats.
   Longitudinal section of sunflower seed showing hilum.
6. Embryo of the common bean and corn.
7. Development of embryo in bean and corn.
   Showing upper and lower hypocotyledons.
8. Cotyledons of corn, pea, and bean. Showing relation of stem and root to seed.

9. Seedlings of corn, pea, and bean. Showing relation of stem and root to seed.

Roots

10. Root hairs on corn seedling (magnified).
11. Corn root—cross section (magnified).
12. Root tip—cells in various stages of division (magnified).

Leaves

13. Leaf form variation.
14. Variation of leaf arrangement. Stems of conifirs and herbaceous perennials.
15. Leaf arrangement—alternate and verticillate.

Branches

16. Branch tips and leaf buds. Silver maple and horse-chestnut.
17. An evergreen—showing branch arrangement and conical form of the excurrent type.
18. An oak—showing branch arrangement of the deliquescent type.

Stems

19. Creeping stems or runners of the strawberry.
20. Climbing stems attached to wall by disk-tipped tendrils.
21. Stem modifications—onion bulb and iris root. Longitudinal section of the first.

Buds

22. Bud arrangement and protection. Shoots from horse-chestnut, magnolia, silver maple, and lilac.
23. Sections of horse-chestnut and magnolia buds (magnified).

Stem Structure

24. Bud scales and scars (magnified) of magnolia and tree of Heaven.
25. Cross section of a pine stem (magnified to show structure).
26. Epidermis—black oak trunk. Characteristic furrows in bark.
27. Block of white pine (model). Plant cells at different angles (magnified).
28. Monocotyledonous stems. Cross and longitudinal sections of cornstalk (magnified).
29. Dicotyledonous stems. Longitudinal sections of horse-chestnut and butternut (magnified).

Leaf Structure

30. Cluster of leaves—showing variety in form and texture.
31. Model of cross section of leaf. Epidermal layer, palisade, and air cells (magnified).
32. Leaf arrangement on herbaceous plants. Verticillate and alternate—latter, many ranks.
33. Leaves as storage vessels for water. An othonna capensis.
34. Leaf variations to suit climatic conditions. Leaves of crassula, agaves, and night-blooming cereus.

Flowers

35. Iris flower and seed pod. Latter showing seed arrangement (magnified).
36. Cross sections of lily, rose, and pea. Showing adaptations to insect fertilization.
37. Flowers of mandrake. Showing stigma and stamens.
38. Process of fertilization. Cross section from seedbox of shepherd's purse (magnified).

39. Adaptations for pollination—the three stages in the clerodendron.
40. Wind pollination—staminate flowers of austrian pine.
41. Pollination of chrysanthemum. Sections showing ray and disk flowers.
42. Longitudinal section of chrysanthemum. Magnified to show anthers and stigmas in various stages of development.

Fruits

43. Fruit form variations—bittersweet, marsh mallow, iris, and wolfberry.
44. Fruit seed variations—apple (sectional cut), hazelnut, and cocklebur.
45. Seed dispersal of milkweed. Light and abundant pappus.
46. Fruit variations. Hop tree, hemlock, and witch-hazel, the latter bearing flowers.

Bacteria

47. Harmful bacteria of throat disease. Spirals and rods (magnified).
48. Useful bacteria. Nodules on roots of sweet clover and cow pea.
49. Nitrification bacteria (magnified). Used at sewage disposal plants.
50. Harmful bacteria. Crown gall on red raspberry plant.

Algae

51. Green slime—spirogyra—common in stagnant water (magnified).

Fungi

52. Mushroom found on logs and stumps.
53. Bracket fungus. Magnified sectional cut, showing tubes.
54. Fruiting portion on bark of tree of bracket fungus.
55. Puffballs.

Pteridophyta

56. Ferns, showing spore-bearing leaves.

Protozoa

57. Slipper animalcule (magnified). A common protozoan, showing cell division.

Metazoa

58. Hydrozoa—life-size specimen and enlarged glass model compared.
59. Jellyfish—enlarged glass model.
60. Sea anemone—enlarged glass model.
61. Madrepore coral—a common reef builder.
62. Red coral—enlarged model. Showing extended body when feeding.

Parastic Worms

63. Parastic worm—clonorchis sinensis. Parastic to man in China.

Anthropods

64. Trilobites, common in the silurian rocks.
65. Barnacles—two thirds life-size.
66. Gooseneck barnacles.
67. Sand crab. Close front view, showing extended eye stalks and open mouth.
68. Garden spider. Face magnified.
69. Spinnerets of Spider (magnified).
70. Grasshopper, Side view.

71. An insect's musical instrument. A cicada magnified to show essential parts.
72. The mole cricket—head and front legs (magnified).
73. Chestnut weevil on half-opened bur.
74. Cecropia moths, eggs, larvae, and pupa.
75. Mouth parts of the honeybee (magnified).
76. Face of worker honeybee (magnified). Shows tongue extended and hairs on eyes.
77. Wax plates of honeybee (magnified).
78. Honeybee's sting (magnified).
79. Honeybee's pollen basket (magnified). Excellent side view of entire bee.
80. End of a housefly's proboscis (magnified).
81. Foot of the cluster fly (magnified).
82. A mosquito larva, or wiggler (magnified). Showing three borers in split stalks of corn.

Fish and Frogs

83. Half section of fish, showing structure.
84. Vital organs of a fish (model).
85. Scale of northern pike (magnified).
86. Eggs of common leopard frog (magnified). Group of six.
87. Frog's eggs in first stages of segmentation (magnified).
88. Frog's eggs, segmentation nearly completed (magnified).
89. Embryo of the frog (magnified). At the stage of development when it is a fish, having external gills, sucking mouth, and tail yolk sac shown.
90. Tadpoles, tail and gills developed.

Birds

91. Embryo of a chicken (magnified). Shown at the stage when structure and relationship of heart and blood vessels are those of a fish.
92. Skeleton of a pigeon (mounted).

Mammals

93. White and red corpuscles of man (magnified).
94. Vertical section (magnified of a rabbit's tongue, showing taste buds).
95. Section of shin of mammal (magnified). Model showing hair pits, oil glands, nerve papilae, sebaceous glands, fat granules, pigmental and epidermal layers.
96. Section of eye of mammal (model enlarged).

Plant Fibers

97. Mature cotton boll, showing plant fiber.
98. Linen and jute fibers.

Law of Heredity

99. Lantern slide colored to show dominants and recessives in the different generations and ratios.

Wood Structure

100. Cross section of inner sapwood of birch (magnified).

C-2. CHEMISTRY (81 Slides)

Each slide has a card with explanatory notes.

1. Complete Apparatus for Systematic Distillation.
2. Soap, Complete Factory.

3. Harnet Electric Furnace.
4. Zinc Mining—Interior of Mill.
5. Zinc Mining—Engine Room.
6. Zinc Mining—Interior of Mill.
7. Vacuum Filter.
8. A Typical Plant for the Manufacture of Cast Iron.
9. Casting Pig Iron from a Blast Furnace.
10. Gas Engine, Westinghouse, Section.
11. Korting's Cooling Tower, Illustrating Refrigeration.
12. Ammonia Compression Apparatus.
13. Separator for Immiscible Liquids.
14. Open-hearth Furnaces—Pouring Ingots.
15. Open Roaster.
16. An Alchemist's Laboratory, in the Deutsches Museum, Munich.
17. Modern Retort.
18. Complete Plant.
19. Brimstone Burner.
20. In a Cutting Which Shows the Layer of Caliche with Almost No Overlying Material—Tools Shown Are the Only Ones Needed in the Mining.
21. Kestner Acid Elevator.
22. Diagram Illustrating Complete Manufacture.
23. Glover Tower.
24. Kessler's Condenser for Sulphuric Acid Fumes.
25. Cars of Caliche, after Crushing, Going up the Inclined Planes to the Maquina.
26. Modern Apparatus for Distillating Crude Alcohol.
27. Feldmann's Apparatus (Ammonia).
28. Complete Installation for Manufacturing Liquid Ammonia.
29. Apparatus for Using Weak Chloride as Bleaching Powder.
30. Plant for Acid Saponification for Candle Stock.
31. Electric Process of E. R. Taylor—Carbon Disulphide.
32. Causticizing Tank.
33. Filter for Caustic Liquor.
34. Old Dome Kiln—English Form.
35. A Block of Louisiana Sulphur—Liquid Sulphur is Pumped from Wells Into Huge Wooden Bins.
36. Standard Rotary Kiln.
37. Rock Emery Mill and Grinding Stone.
38. Oven for Burning Earthenware Used in Ceramic Industry.
39. Sodium Nitrate Deposit in Chile.
40. Small Earthen Still for Chlorine.
41. Weldon Process—Chlorine.
42. Deacon Process—Chlorine.
43. Electrolytic Bleach—Chlorine.
44. Apparatus for Liquifying Chlorine.
45. Still. Coal Tar.
46. View of a Sugar Mill.
47. Beehive Coke Oven, Improved Form.
48. New England Gas and Coke Company, Everett, Mass.
49. Part of Solvay Carbonate Works, Syracuse, N. Y.
50. The Taylor Form of Gas Producer with Roasting Ash Table and Water Jacket Casing.
51. A Kettle Used in Soap Making.
52. Lower Part of Gas Producer with Cone Ash Hopper.
53. Pots, Opened and Closed Class.
54. Stages of Making a Goblet.
55. Stages of Blowing a Bottle.
56. Converter—Glucose.
57. Neutralizer—Glucose.

58. Ott Bark Mill.
59. Leaching Vats for Bark (Drum Bleaching).
60. Magnified Section of Skin.
61. Vats for Evaporating Salt in the Salt Industry.
62. Evaporation of Salt Brine in the Open.
62½. Evaporation Tanks in Salt Works.
63. Periodic Kiln—Long Flame.
64. Continuous Long Flame Shaft Kiln.
65. Continuous Vertical Kiln.
66. Closed Lime Kiln.
67. Linde Liquid Air Apparatus.
68. Wegelin & Hubner Apparatus for Bone Extraction—Oils and Fats.
69. Centrifugal Cream Separator.
70. Wood Pulp Digester—Paper.
71. Ground Plan Soda Pulp Mill—Paper.
72. Boiler Still for Petroleum.
73. Ordinary Condenser for Petroleum.
74. Readman and Parker Process—Phosphorus.
75. Blast Furnace for Cast Iron.
76. Refining Sulphur.
77. View in Gas Works.
78. Manufacture of Illuminating Gas.
79. Manufacture of Water Gas.
80. Manufacture of Sulphuric Acid.
81. Rolling Out Plate Glass.

E-3. ELECTRICITY (750 Slides)

Under this head we have 14 sets of slides each with a lecture book deposited for the use of the Bureau by the General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y.

GE-1. Lightning Arresters—37 slides. General understanding of the nature of lightning and problems of the arrester.

GE-2. Curtis Steam Turbine-Generator Set—42 slides. Changes which have taken place since 1903. Primarily for use at meetings of steam power operators.

GE-6. Railway Electrifications—79 slides. Transportation in mountainous regions, underground, in cold climates and under other exceptional circumstances.

GE-10. Electricity on the Farm—59 slides. Motor driven machinery lighting, and other solutions to labor problems on the farm.

GE-12. Street lighting—69 slides. Discusses the history of street lighting and problems connected with it.

GE-14. History of Development of Electrical Industry—78 slides. Brief history of men, dates, and types of electric machines.

GE-24. Searchlights and their uses—27 slides. Headlights and searchlights and their uses by army, navy and airmail service.

GE-26. Facts about the General Electric Company—40 slides. Facts about the organization, amount of apparatus manufactured, pictures of plants, etc.

GE-38. Ship Propulsion—58 slides. The history of ship propulsion from early days to the present electric driven ships used by the navy.

GE-45. Seeing through the Opaque—54 slides. The X-ray in manufacturing, commerce and in medicine.

GE-47. Electricity, the Wonder Worker—51 slides. A story of the application of electricity to industry, mining, transportation, communication and other fields.

GE-49. Elementary Principles of Light and lighting—8 slides. The problem of applied light, questions of vision, and psychology of vision.

GE-51. The Panama Canal and Its Electrification—60 slides. The part electricity played in this great achievement.

GE-54. Railway Gears and Pinions—88 slides. Iron ore mining. Mines and docks, leading up to processes of manufacture into gears and pinions.

R-4. THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF RADIO (75 Slides)

Each step in the development of radio from Maxwell to Marconi is clearly illustrated. The lantern slide with its descriptive text combines simplicity and thoroughness in such a manner as to be of equal interest and value whether one is teaching a class of beginners in high school or giving a lecture to a technical society.

1. Heinrich Hertz, the Father of Radio.
2. Discovery of the Hertz Waves.
3. The Hertz Loop Detector.
4. Edouard Branly.
5. The First Device to Intercept Radio Waves.
6. Marconi, the Paradox of Wireless Telegraphy.
7. How the First Wireless Messages Were Sent.
8. How the First Wireless Messages Were Received.
9. Marconi's Discovery at Bristol Channel.
10. The Inside of an Atom.
11. How a Body is Electrically Charged by Electrons.
12. How a Body is Electrically Charged by Induction.
13. How Electrons Generate Radio Waves.
14. Damped and Undamped Waves.
15. Relation between Wave Length and Length of Aerial.
16. Resonance, the Basis of Tuning.
17. Construction and Use of a Tuning Coil.
18. How a Microphone Works.
19. Principle of the Head Phone.
20. How a Crystal Detector Rectifies.
21. How a Telephone Receiver is Operated by Radio.
22. A Simple Tuned Circuit.
23. Principle of the Condenser.
24. The Use of the Phone Condenser.
25. Construction of Fixed and Variable Condensers.
26. Function of the Variable Condenser in Tuning.
27. A Typical Crystal Detector Hook Up.
28. The Microphone Detector.
29. The Electrolytic Detector.
30. Thomas A. Edison.
31. The Edison Effect.
32. Dr. J. A. Fleming.
33. Fleming's Explanation of the Edison Effect.
34. Fleming's Discovery.
35. The Fleming Valve as a Rectifier.
36. The Fleming Valve as a Battery Charger.
37. The Fleming Valve as a Detector.
38. Lee De Forest.
39. De Forest's Third Electrode.
40. The Audion Bulb.
41. The Audion Detector.
42. The Audion Relay.
43. The Grid Condenser and Grid Leak.
44. The Four Fundamental Receiving Circuits.
45. The Construction and Use of a Loading Coil.
46. The Construction and Use of a Loose Coupler.

47. The Construction and Use of a Variocoupler.
48. The Construction and Use of a Variometer.
49. The Construction and Use of Honeycomb Coils.
50. The Filament Circuit and Control.
51. The Aerial Circuit and Control.
52. The Grid Circuit and Control.
53. The Plate Circuit and Control.
54. Radio Waves, Audio Waves, and Modulated Waves.
55. Autodyne and Heterodyne Reception.
56. Regeneration with a Tickler Coil.
57. Regeneration with Feed Back to Tuning Coil.
58. Regeneration with Tuned Plate Circuit.
59. Regeneration with Three Honeycomb Coils.
60. Regeneration with Three Spider Web Coils.
61. Flewelling's Super-regenerative Circuit.
62. The Reinartz Circuit.
63. Ultra-audion Tuned Plate Circuit.
64. An Amplifying Transformer.
65. Audio Frequency Amplification.
66. Radio Frequency Amplification.
67. Radio-audio Frequency Amplification.
68. A Cascade of Amplification with Loop Aerial.
69. A Reflex Circuit.
70. Inverse Duplex Circuit.
71. Neutrodyne Circuit.
72. A Radio Direction Finder.
73. The Principle of Wireless Telephone Transmission.
74. General Plan of a Radio Transmitter.
75. A Modern Broadcasting Station.

IV. SOCIAL PROBLEMS

P-1. RURAL RECREATION (13 Slides)

Explanatory notes are printed on each slide.

1. Play is instinctive.
2. Cooperation in play.
3. Play helps study.
4. Play ages.
5. Athletics as a body builder.
6. Country play.
7. Play in the home.
8. Play at school.
9. Play agencies.
10. The picnic.
11. The community sing.
12. The county fair.
13. The community center.

P-2. STORY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL (30 Slides with Lecture)

Rural school consolidation—Changes that have taken place, beginning with the log schoolhouse of our grandfathers and coming down to the late type of consolidated school.

P-3. TEACHING HEALTH (18 Slides)

"Further steps in teaching health," for adults by the American Child Health association. Explanatory notes are printed on slide.

P-4. A SURVEY OF HOME MISSIONS (71 Slides with Lecture)

Problems surrounding the home mission church in America and the church in foreign lands.

P-5. SURVEY OF COUNTRY CHURCH PROBLEMS (20 Slides with Lecture)

Shows problems facing the country church and Sunday school. This and the above set are by the Interchurch World Movement.

V. SONGS

S-1. SCHOOL SONGS (Each Song Covers More Than One Slide)

The Star Spangled Banner—9 slides.
America—9 slides.
Dixie—2 slides.
My Old Kentucky Home—15 slides.

S-2. HYMNS (One Slide Each)

Holy, Holy, Holy
Sweet Story of Old
Hold the Fort
Holy Ghost the Infinite
O Jesus Thou Art Standing
How Gently God's Commands
Joy To the World

EXTENSION BULLETINS

Vol. IV, No. 12. *Children of Old Carolina.* Historical Pageant for Children. Ethel T. Rockwell. Price 25c.

Vol. VII, No. 9. *Special Legal Relations of Married Women in N. C. as to Property, Contracts, and Guardianship.* Mary P. Smith. Price 25c.

Vol. VIII, No. 5. *The World Court.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.

Vol. VIII, No. 7. *Scenery and Lighting for School and Little Theatre Stages.* Samuel Selden. Price 50c.

Vol. VIII, No. 8. *Studies in Taxation.* North Carolina Club Yearbook. 1927-1928. Price 50c.

Vol. IX, No. 4. *The Classification of Property for Taxation.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.

Vol. IX, No. 5. *Country Life in North Carolina.* North Carolina Club Yearbook. 1928-1929. Price 25c.

Vol. IX, No. 8. *Plays for Schools and Little Theatres.* Frederick H. Koch and Nettina Strobach. Price 25c.

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Vol. X, No. 5. *Independence for the Philippines.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.

Vol. IX, No. 3. *Compulsory Unemployment Insurance.* Debate Handbook. Complied by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.

Vol. XI, No. 6. *A Two-Year Course in Spanish, with Suggestions for a Third Year.* Price 25c.

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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XVIII SEPTEMBER, 1938 NO. 2

ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

Compiled by
E. R. RANKIN

Debate Handbook

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THE HIGH SCHOOL DEBATING UNION

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The High School Debating Union was organized among the high schools of North Carolina by the Dialectic and Philanthropic literary societies of the University of North Carolina during the school year 1912-13. The query of that year was, RESOLVED, *That the constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow women to vote under the same qualifications as men.* Ninety schools participated in the first annual state-wide debate, which was held on February 22, 1913. Sixteen schools won both debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill for the final contest. The Pleasant Garden high school, represented by Grady Bowman and S. C. Hodgin, on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on March 7, 1913.

One hundred and fifty schools took part in the second annual state-wide debate on March 20, 1914, on the subject, RESOLVED, *That the constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow the initiative and referendum in state-wide legislation.* Forty-one schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill for the final contest. The Winston-Salem high school, represented by Charles Roddick and Clifton Eaton, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 3, 1914. During the school year 1913-14 the High School Debating Union was incorporated as a regular feature of the work of the University Extension Division.

Two hundred and fifty schools took part in the third annual state-wide contest on March 26, 1915, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt the policy of subsidizing its merchant marine engaged in foreign trade.* Fifty schools won both debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill for the final contest. The Wilson high school, represented by Misses Lalla Rookh Fleming and Ethel Gardner, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 9, 1915.

The query which was discussed in the fourth annual state-wide contest, which was held on March 31, 1916, was, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt the policy of greatly enlarging its navy.* Three hundred and twenty-five schools enrolled for the contest. Sixty-eight schools won both of their debates and sent their speakers to Chapel Hill for the final contest. Miss Myrtle Cooper and Boyd Harden, speakers on the affirmative for the Graham high school, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 14, 1916.

Three hundred and thirty-one schools participated in the fifth annual state-wide debate, which was held on March 31, 1917, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the federal government should own and operate the railways.* Seventy-four schools won both of their debates and sent their debaters to Chapel Hill for the final contest. The Waynesville high school, represented by Vinson Smathers and Roy Francis, on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 20, 1917.

The sixth annual contest centered around the query, RESOLVED, *That Congress should enact a law providing for the compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes.* Three hundred schools participated in the triangular

debates on March 29, 1918. Sixty-six schools won both debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill to enter the final contest. Thomas Burton and Will Anderson, representing the Wilson high school, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 12, 1918.

One hundred and eighty schools enrolled for the seventh annual state-wide debate on April 4, 1919, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States government should adopt a policy requiring one year of military training for all able-bodied men before they reach the age of 21.* Forty-one schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University for the final contest. The Durham high school, represented by Miss Aura Holton and Leo Brady, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on May 2, 1919.

Two hundred schools participated on April 14, 1920, in the eighth annual state-wide debate on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt a policy of further material restriction of immigration.* Forty-four schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University to take part in the final contest. The Asheville high school, represented by Arthur Kale and Clifton Ervin, on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 28, 1920.

Two hundred schools participated in the ninth annual state-wide debating contest on April 1, 1921. The query was, RESOLVED, *That the policy of collective bargaining through trade unions should prevail in American industry.* Fifty schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University for the final contest. Miss Eunice Hutchins and Ludlow Rogers, of the Durham high school, representing the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 15, 1921.

Two hundred and fifty schools took part in the tenth annual state-wide debate on March 24, 1922, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should enter the League of Nations.* Sixty schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill for the final contest. The Durham high school, represented by Linwood Hollowell and Freeman Twaddell, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 7, 1922.

Two hundred and fifty schools participated in the eleventh annual state-wide debate on March 31, 1923, on the query, RESOLVED, *That Congress should provide for the enforcement of decisions of the Railroad Labor Board.* Sixty schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University for the final contest. The Elizabeth City high school, represented by Misses Ellen Mellick and Mary Dozier, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 13, 1923.

Two hundred and fifty schools took part in the twelfth annual state-wide debate on March 28, 1924, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the inter-allied war debts should be cancelled.* Seventy-one schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University for the final contest. The Wilson high school, represented by Miss Catherine Ware and Fred Carr, on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 11, 1924.

Two hundred and thirty-five schools entered the thirteenth annual state-wide contest on March 27, 1925. The query was, RESOLVED, *That North Caro-*

lina should ratify the port terminals and water transportation act. Sixty-five schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill for the final contest. Miss Catherine Ware and Fred Carr, of the Wilson high school, representing the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 10, 1925.

Two hundred and twenty-four schools took part in the fourteenth annual state-wide debate on April 2, 1926, on the query, RESOLVED, *That North Carolina should levy a state tax on property to aid in the support of an eight months school term.* Sixty-seven schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University for the final contest. The Winston-Salem high school, represented by Misses Mell Efird and Loretto Carroll, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 16, 1926.

Two hundred and twenty-three schools participated in the fifteenth annual state-wide debate on April 1, 1927, on the query, RESOLVED, *That Congress should enact the Curtis-Reed bill, providing for a federal department of education.* Sixty-seven schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University. Harry Gump and Henry Biggs, of the Greensboro high school, representing the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 20, 1927.

One hundred and ninety-five schools entered the sixteenth annual state-wide debate which was held on April 6, 1928. The query for that year was, RESOLVED, *That Congress should enact the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill.* Fifty schools won both of their debates and sent their representatives to the University. The Washington Collegiate Institute, represented by Henry Roper and Hal Hopper, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 20, 1928.

One hundred and ninety-six schools participated in the seventeenth annual state-wide contest on April 5, 1929, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should join the World Court.* Fifty-nine schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill. Floyd Adams and Shearod Crumpler, of the Roanoke Rapids high school, representing the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 19, 1929.

One hundred and eighty-six schools took part in the eighteenth annual state-wide contest on April 4, 1930, on the query, RESOLVED, *That North Carolina should adopt the proposed constitutional amendment, authorizing the classification of property for taxation.* Fifty-one schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University. The Goldsboro high school, represented by Miss Eleanor Bizzell and Ezra Griffin, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 18, 1930.

Two hundred and eighteen schools entered on April 3, 1931, the nineteenth annual state-wide contest on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should grant immediate independence to the Philippines.* Fifty-two schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University. Miss Marian Weil and Ezra Griffin, of the Goldsboro high school, representing the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 17, 1931.

Two hundred and fourteen schools took part in the twentieth annual state-wide contest on April 1, 1932, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt a system of compulsory unemployment insurance.* Fifty-five schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill. The Curry high school, represented by Miss Katherine Keister and Nash Herndon, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 15, 1932.

Two hundred and fifteen schools entered the twenty-first annual state-wide debate on March 31, 1933, on the query, RESOLVED, *That North Carolina should adopt the sales tax as a feature of its state system of revenue.* Fifty-one schools won both of their debates and sent their representatives to Chapel Hill. The Broughton high school, of Raleigh, represented by Miss Katherine Martin and Wade Marr, Jr., on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 14, 1933.

Two hundred schools participated in the twenty-second annual state-wide high school debate on March 30, 1934, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt the essential features of the British system of radio control and operation.* Forty-five schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University. The Thomasville high school, represented by Miss Katherine Covington and A. C. Lovelace, Jr., on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 13, 1934.

Two hundred and twenty-five schools took part in the twenty-third annual state-wide high school debate on March 22, 1935, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the United States should adopt the policy of extending federal aid to general public education.* Sixty-eight schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill. The Goldsboro high school, represented by Powell Bland and Maurice Edwards, on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 12, 1935.

Two hundred and twenty-seven schools participated in the twenty-fourth annual state-wide high school debate on March 27, 1936, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the several states should provide for the socialization of medicine.* Sixty-four schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to Chapel Hill. The Kinston high school, represented by Miss Rose Pully and Miss Minetta Bartlett, on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 17, 1936.

Two hundred and thirty-three schools participated in the twenty-fifth annual state-wide high school debate on April 2, 1937, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the government should own and operate all electric light and power utilities.* Sixty-three schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University. The Weldon high school, represented by Miss Frances Johnson and Philip Moore, on the affirmative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 22, 1937.

Two hundred and thirty-four schools participated in the twenty-sixth annual state-wide high school debate on April 1, 1937, on the query, RESOLVED, *That the several states should adopt a unicameral system of legislation.* Sixty-six high schools won both of their debates and sent their teams to the University. The Union Grove high school, represented by Miss Fern

Templeton and Miss Wanona Rash, on the negative, won the Aycock Memorial Cup in the final debate on April 22, 1938.

THE QUERY FOR 1938-39

The query which will be discussed this year by the high schools holding membership in the High School Debating Union of North Carolina is: RESOLVED, *That the United States should establish an alliance with Great Britain.* The high school debating leagues of approximately thirty-five states will discuss the subject of an Anglo-American alliance in their spring contests during this scholastic year. It is hoped by the central committee that the twenty-seventh annual state-wide debating contest, dealing with the important subject of the relations between the United States and Great Britain, will prove one of the most successful contests yet held. The attention of debaters and of all others interested is directed to the statement of the query, with the accompanying explanations and limitations of the meaning of the query, on page 12 of this handbook.

The thanks of the compilers of this debate handbook are extended to the publishers and authors who very kindly gave permission for the reprinting of articles included in the handbook.

REGULATIONS

1. The University Extension Division of the University of North Carolina will suggest a query, to be discussed on a given date by the schools entering the High School Debating Union.

2. All secondary schools of North Carolina, however supported, offering regularly organized courses of study above the seventh grade, and not extending in their scope and content beyond a standard high school or secondary school course, shall be eligible for membership in the High School Debating Union.

3. The schools accepting this offer and thus becoming members of the Union shall be arranged into groups of three for triangular debates, the status and standards of the schools, their proximity, accessibility, and convenience of location to be considered in forming the groups.

4. Each school of every triangular group shall agree to furnish two debating teams of two members each, the one to uphold the affirmative side of the query, and the other to defend the negative side.

5. The members of the debating teams must all be bona fide students of the schools they represent. To be bona fide students, they must be in regular attendance at the time of the debate, and they must have been in regular attendance for at least 30 per cent of the school year up to and including the date of the debate, and they must have made passing grades on a majority of the studies in some regularly organized course of study.

6. No post graduate of a school—that is, no student who has already finished a four-year high school course—shall be eligible to represent his school in the contest. This shall not serve, however, to debar those students who are in upper classes in school systems modeled after the junior-senior plan (offering a five-year high school course) unless those students have

already been graduated from, or awarded diplomas by, the schools which they are now attending or other high schools. If such students, or any students, have been graduated already, or awarded diplomas, they are, of course ineligible to compete.

7. No student who became 21 years of age on or before September 1, 1938, shall be eligible to represent his school in the high school debates of the High School Debating Union.

8. The usual plan of procedure for the triangular contests will be for the affirmative teams to debate at home and for the negative teams to visit. However, whenever a plan for holding the debates on neutral grounds is favored by at least two member schools of a given triangle, then the debates of that triangle will be held on neutral territory.

9. The schools themselves shall select and agree upon the judges of the local contests.

10. In the triangular debates, each speaker shall have twenty minutes at his disposal, not more than fifteen of which shall be used in the first speech.

11. In the debates of the High School Debating Union, the order of the speakers in the first speech shall be: affirmative, negative, affirmative, negative. The order of speakers on rejoinder shall be: affirmative, negative, affirmative, negative. It is understood, however, that there is no objection to a reversal of this order of speakers on rejoinder in any given local debate, provided that such a reversal of order shall have been definitely agreed to beforehand by responsible authorities of both schools which are concerned in the given local debate.

12. The schools which shall win both of their debates shall be entitled to send their teams to the University to compete in the final contest for the Aycock Memorial Cup. It is understood, however, that the committee may arrange for an additional contest among the winning schools throughout the state prior to the final contest at the University, should this plan appear to be necessary under the circumstances.

13. In the event that one school of a triangle drops out and the committee at Chapel Hill is unable to secure a school to take its place, then the two schools remaining shall hold a dual debate with one another, each school sending its team on the negative to the other.

14. In the event that two schools of a triangle drop out of the Union and the committee is unable to secure schools to take their places, then the remaining school shall be declared the winner over the others by their default.

15. The school having the strongest team on the affirmative side of the query and the school having the strongest team on the negative side shall be entitled to contest publicly at the University for the Aycock Memorial Cup. (The strongest team on each side of the query is to be determined by means of preliminary contests in debate at Chapel Hill. After a contestant has been eliminated in a preliminary at Chapel Hill in this year's final contest, the contestant will not be permitted to change sides and participate further in this year's final contest.)

16. The school which shall win the debate, thus finally held, shall have its name inscribed on the Aycock Memorial Cup.

17. Any school which shall win the final contest for two years in succession shall have the cup for its own property.

18. All contestants are expected to prepare their own speeches with legitimate assistance of the teachers, principals, or superintendents in their school systems. Legitimate assistance is interpreted to mean oral advice, suggestions, discussions, and criticism.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO JUDGES

1. The judges should be disinterested parties to the success of either team and, so far as possible, should be non-local.

2. They should sit apart during the debate.

3. They should judge the contest as a debate, and at its conclusion should vote "Affirmative" or "Negative" on the merits of the debate. They should not consider the merits of the question.

4. Each judge should sign and seal his vote and deliver it, through an usher, to the presiding officer who should publicly open the votes and announce the decision.

Before the debates begin, a copy of these suggestions should be given to each judge for his guidance.

ORIGINALITY OF DEBATES

The committee realizes that "The debate which a speaker produces should be his very best; but it should under no circumstances be better than his best; that the success of the Union will be seriously hindered unless in each instance the speech of a debater represents his own individual work." It wishes, therefore, to ask the principals to give this matter their very careful consideration and to note particularly regulation 18. In cases where necessary, the principals in the various triangles should take such action among themselves as they deem necessary. Great care should be taken by all means to see to it that wherever a speaker uses any quoted material, proper credit is given in his speech to the source from which the quotation was derived.

For further information, address

E. R. RANKIN,

Secretary, High School Debating Union, Chapel Hill, N. C.

QUERY

RESOLVED, *That the United States should establish an alliance with Great Britain.*

EXPLANATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

For the purpose of clarity of issue in the contest of the High School Debating Union of North Carolina, the following explanations and limitations of the meaning of the query are distinctly set down:

It is understood that the statement of the query contemplates that the United States should establish a treaty of alliance with Great Britain.

This treaty might take the form: (1) of a general offensive and defensive alliance; or (2) of a defensive alliance; or (3) of an alliance for joint action in Pacific regions (the China-Japan-Philippines area); or (4) of an alliance in support of the territorial integrity of continental United States including the Panama Canal, on the one hand, and of the British Isles, on the other hand; or (5) of two or more of these stipulated alliances combined.

The affirmative may choose, each team for itself, which one of these suggested alliances (or what combined alliances) it will advocate. It is necessary, under the statement of this debate, for the affirmative to advocate at least one of these stipulated alliances. The negative, of course, will oppose the proposal of the affirmative.

Armed support, the one nation for the other—at least to the extent of the use of navies—would be pledged or implied as a final resort under the terms of any treaty of alliance negotiated.

The affirmative may, if it chooses to do so, advocate the extension at a later time of the treaty of alliance to other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations (as Canada, for example) or to other nations (as France, for instance); but the affirmative is not under any obligation to argue for such wider application.

The affirmative may, if it chooses to do so, advocate this alliance as a step towards support of the League of Nations; but the affirmative is not under any obligation to do this.

The affirmative is conceded the privilege—should it care to exercise it—of stating some reasonable provision for the termination of the alliance, as, for example, six months' notice of intention to terminate. The normal expectation would be that any treaty of alliance negotiated would be operative for a period of at least ten years.

It is understood that any question as to the constitutionality of the proposed alliance is to be waived from the discussions in the contest of the High School Debating Union.

It is understood, of course, that a trade treaty or agreement would not be an alliance, as the term "alliance" is used in this debate.

It is understood that the term "Great Britain" in this text relates to the British Isles.

The broad purpose of the alliance would be: The preservation of peace.

GENERAL REFERENCES

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

(Excerpts from an address by Secretary of State Cordell Hull before the National Press Club in Washington on March 7, 1938.)

Our government pursues, in relation to every world area alike, a policy of non-interference, with ill-will toward no nation and a sincere desire to be friendly with all. At the same time, we endeavor to afford appropriate protection to American citizens and American interests everywhere. During recent months, as throughout the past 150 years, the government of the United States has sought to exercise moral influence and to co-operate in every practicable way with all peace-seeking nations in support of these basic principles which are indispensable to the promotion and maintenance of stable conditions of peace.

We have affirmed on every possible occasion and have urged upon all nations the supreme need for keeping alive and for practicing sound fundamental principles of relations among civilized nations. We have never entertained and we have not the slightest intention to entertain any such notion as the use of American armed forces for "policing the world." But we equally have not the slightest intention of reversing a tradition of a century and a half by abandoning our deep concern for and our advocacy of the establishment everywhere of international order under law, based upon the well-recognized principles to which I have referred. It is our profound conviction that the most effective contribution which we, as a nation sincerely devoted to the cause of peace, can make—in the tragic conditions with which our people, in common with the rest of mankind, are confronted today—is to have this country respected throughout the world for integrity, justice, good-will, strength and unswerving loyalty to principles.

The foregoing is the essence of foreign policy. The record is an open book. We spare no effort to make known the facts regarding our attitude, our objectives and our acts. We are always ready to furnish to the members of the Congress essential information. You gentlemen have first-hand knowledge of our constant effort to keep the press and the public informed.

There is one thing we cannot do. And that is to prepare and place before every government of the world a detailed chart of the course of policy and action which this country will or will not pursue under any particular set of circumstances. No man, no nation can possibly foresee all the circumstances that may arise. Moreover, to attempt to make such a detailed chart of future action would merely result in impairing our effectiveness in working for the one objective toward which we constantly strive and on which, I am certain, there is not a vestige of disagreement among the people of our country—the establishment of durable peace.

So strong, indeed, is the desire of this country for peace that many measures have been suggested toward our keeping out of war—some of

them in complete disregard of both experience and practicability. It has been urged that we apply the neutrality law automatically in all circumstances, without adequate consideration of the possible consequences of such action for our own peace and for the safety of our citizens. It has been urged that we withdraw precipitately from any part of the world in which violators of international decencies choose to assert themselves. It has even been urged that we change the very basis of our representative form of government in a frantic search for something which the proposers assume would make it more likely that this country should avoid war.

I take it for granted that all of us alike are sincere friends of peace. This makes it all the more necessary for every one of us to scrutinize carefully every measure proposed, lest in our attempts to avoid war we imperil the chances of preserving peace.

The problem of the form of government best adapted to this country's needs was one with which the founders of our republic came to grips in those stirring days when the structure of our independent national existence was being given form and substance. After exhaustive deliberation and discussion, they decided upon the system of representative democracy in preference to that of pure democracy as the system through which the people could best safeguard their liberty and promote their natural security and welfare. The wisdom of the founders of this nation in deciding, with conspicuous unanimity, to place the conduct of foreign relations in the hands of the federal government has stood the test of generations as providing the most effective means that can be devised for assuring the peace, the security, and the independence of our people.

What warrant is there, in reason or in experience, for the assumption—which underlies such proposals as the plan for a popular referendum on the subject of declaring war—that the Chief Executive and the Congress will be at any time more eager and more likely to embark upon war than would be the general body of citizens to whom they are directly responsible No President and no Congress have ever carried this country into war against the will of the people. On the other hand, there is not a vestige of doubt that the adoption of a procedure like the referendum plan would hopelessly handicap the government in the conduct of our foreign relations in general and would thus disastrously impair its ability to safeguard the interests of the nation, in the forefront among which is that of peace.

Likewise dangerous, from the viewpoint of the preservation of peace, is the proposal that we retire from the far east, comprising the chief portion of the Pacific area. Unfortunately, many people in this country have wholly misunderstood the position and policy of our government in relation to that situation.

Some have visualized only our trade and investment relationships with China, or our moral or cultural interests there, symbolized by missionary, educational, medical, and similar activities. Some have concentrated their attention solely upon the incidental and exceptional facts of the existence of extraterritoriality and the maintenance of some armed forces to assist in safeguarding our nationals against possible mob violence and

similar disorders—special rights which it is our policy to give up and forces which it is our policy to withdraw the moment the unusual conditions disappear.

All these are important. But the interest and concern of the United States—whether in the far east, in any other part of the Pacific area, in Europe, or anywhere else in the world—are not measured alone by the number of American citizens residing in any particular country, or by the volume of investment and trade, or by the exceptional conditions peculiar to the particular area. There is a much broader and more fundamental interest—which is, that orderly processes in international relationships based on the principles to which I have referred be maintained.

As I have already indicated, what is most of all at stake today, throughout the world, is the future of the fundamental principles which must be the foundation of international order as opposed to international anarchy. If we and others were to abandon and surrender these principles in regard to the Pacific area, which is almost one-half of the world, we would have to reconcile ourselves to their certain abandonment and surrender in regard to the other half of the world.

It would be absurd and futile for us to proclaim that we stand for international law, for the sanctity of treaty obligations, for non-intervention in internal affairs of other countries, for equality of industrial and commercial rights and opportunities, for limitation and reduction of armaments—but only in one-half of the world, and among one-half of the world's population. The catastrophic developments of recent years, the startling events of the past weeks, offer a tragic demonstration of how quickly the contagious scourge of treaty-breaking and armed violence spreads from one region to another.

Those who contend that we can and should abandon and surrender principles in one-half of the world clearly show that they have little or no conception of the extent to which situations and developments in any part of the world today inevitably affect situations and conditions in other parts of the world. The triumph of this seclusionist viewpoint would inescapably carry the whole world back to the conditions of medieval chaos, conditions toward which some part of both the eastern and western worlds are already moving.

Such is the fate to which extreme isolationists—isolationists at any price—all those who contend that we should neither protest against abuses nor cooperate with others toward keeping principles alive, those who say that under no circumstances should we insist upon any rights beyond our own territorial waters—such is the fate to which blind extremism of this type would consign this country and the world.

The momentous question—let me repeat—is whether the doctrine of force shall become enthroned once more and bring in its wake, inexorably, international anarchy and a relapse into barbarism; or whether this or other peaceful nations, fervently attached to the principles which underlie international order, shall work unceasingly—singly or in cooperation with each other, as circumstances, their traditional policies and practices, and

their enlightened, self-interest may dictate—to promote and preserve law, order, morality and justice as the unshakable bases of civilized international relations.

We might, if we could reconcile ourselves to such an attitude, turn our backs on the whole problem and decline the responsibility and labor of contributing to its solution. But let us have no illusions as to what such a course of action would involve for us as a nation.

It would mean a break with our past, both internationally and domestically. It would mean a voluntary abandonment of some of the most important things that have made us a great nation. It would mean an abject retreat before those forces which we have, throughout our whole national history, consistently opposed.

It would mean that our security would be menaced in proportion as other nations came to believe that, either through fear or through unwillingness, we did not intend to afford protection to our legitimate national interests abroad, but, on the contrary, intended to abandon them at the first sign of danger. Under such conditions, the sphere of our international relationships—economic, cultural, intellectual and other—would necessarily shrink and shrivel, until we would stand practically alone among the nations, a self-constituted hermit state.

Thrown back upon our own resources, we would find it necessary to reorganize our entire social and economic structure. The process of adaptation to a more or less self-contained existence would mean less production and at higher costs, lower living standards, regimentation in every phase of life, economic distress to wage-earners and farmers, and to their families, and the dole, on an ever-increasing scale.

All this we would be doing in pursuit of the notion that by so doing we would avoid war. But would these policies, while entailing such enormous sacrifices and rendering the nation more and more decadent, really give us any such assurance?

Reason and experience definitely point to the contrary. We may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs, but we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Isolation is not a means to security; it is a fruitful source of insecurity.

We want to live in a world which is at peace; in which the forces of militarism, of territorial aggression, and of international anarchy in general will become utterly odious, revolting and intolerable to the conscience of mankind; in which the doctrine of order under law will be firmly established; in which there will no longer be one code of morality, honor, justice and fair play for the individual in his relations with other individuals, and an entirely different code for governments and nations in their relations with each other. We want to live in a world in which fruitful and constructive international relationships can serve as a medium for disseminating throughout the world the benefits of the material, spiritual and moral progress of mankind.

To that end we will continue to give full and sincere adherence to the fundamental principles which underlie international order; We will continue to urge universal acceptance and observance of these principles; we will continue, wherever necessary and in every practicable and peaceful way, to cooperate with other nations which are actuated by the same desires and are pursuing the same objectives; we will persevere in appropriate efforts to safeguard our legitimate rights and interests in every part of the world; and we will, while scrupulously respecting the rights of others, insist on their respecting our rights.

To that end we will continue to strive, through our reciprocal trade program and through other economic policies, to restore the normal processes and to expand the volume of mutually beneficial trade among the nations which is indispensable to an increase of production, employment, purchasing power and general economic well-being here and everywhere; we will continue to promote peace through economic security and prosperity; we will continue to participate in the numerous international scientific, technical and other conferences and collaborative efforts which have been such powerful influences in assisting the stream of new ideas, of new discoveries, of learning and culture, to flow throughout the world, and we will continue to urge other nations to give their support to such policies and efforts.

We believe that a world at peace, with law and justice prevailing, is possible, and that it can be achieved by methods to some of which I have referred. That is the cornerstone to our foreign policy—a policy graphically described by President Roosevelt when he said:

"There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace. America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace."

The objectives of our foreign policy are as easy to grasp as they are fundamental. The means we are using to attain these objectives are the only means approved by reason and by experience. For the sake of the best interests of our people, we must maintain our strength, our courage, our moral standards, our influence in world affairs—and our participation in efforts toward world progress and peace.

Only by making our reasonable contribution to a firm establishment of a world order based on law can we keep the problem of our own security in true perspective and thus discharge our responsibility to ourselves—to America of today and to America of tomorrow. No other course would be worthy of our past or of the potentialities of this great democracy of which we are all citizens and in whose affairs we all participate.

THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

(Excerpts from an address by Secretary of State Cordull Hull before the Bar Association of Tennessee in Nashville on June 3, 1938.)

Recognition of the surpassing importance of international law in the relations among nations as well as in our own national life has been, throughout our history, one of our most firmly established traditions. It was in that spirit that, in the Declaration of Independence, the founders of this republic, invoked "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Succeedings generations of our jurists and our statesmen have concerned themselves with the law of nations.

In 1815 Chief Justice Marshall declared that the law of nations is a part of the law of the land. Justice Gray stated in 1900:

"International law is part of our law, and must be ascertained and administered by the courts of justice of appropriate jurisdiction, as often as questions of right depending upon it are duly presented for their determination. For this purpose, where there is no treaty, and no controlling executive or legislative act or judicial decision, resort must be had to the customs and usages of civilized nations."

Our Presidents and our secretaries of state, from George Washington and Thomas Jefferson on down, have seldom deviated from the tradition that our foreign relations should be conducted in such a manner as to make this nation a force in the world for peace, international morality, justice, and fair dealing—a champion of international law as the governing factor in relations among nations. I cannot believe that today our people will accept or condone departure from this tradition.

There was never a time in our national history when the influence of the United States in support of international law was more urgently needed than at present—to serve our own best interests and those of the entire human race. The world is today in the grip of a severe upheaval, the outcome of which will affect profoundly the future of mankind.

There is again abroad, in more than one part of the earth, a spirit of international anarchy. Solemn contractual obligations are brushed aside with a light heart and a contemptuous gesture. Respect for law and observance of the pledged word have sunk to an inconceivably low level. The outworn slogans of the glorification of war are again resounding in many portions of the globe. Armed force, naked and unashamed, is again being used as an instrument of policy and a means of attaining national ends through aggression and aggrandizement. It is being employed with brutality and savagery that outrage and shock every humane instinct.

In the face of these grim developments, there are some among our people who would have our nation withdraw into its own shell and isolate itself from the rest of the world. They would have us seek safety and security in a hermit-like existence among the nations of the world—in a voluntary surrender of legitimate rights and interests, which we have regarded for generations as essential to our national welfare, and a voluntary abandonment of our support of international law and of the

instrumentalities for its application, which alone can make us secure in the exercise of such rights and the enjoyment of such interests.

Those who counsel this course of policy and action should pause in their fervent crusade to cast up an account of the possible benefits and injuries that its pursuance would entail.

On the side of the benefits which, it is alleged, would accrue to our people from a policy of isolation would be, we are told, an assurance against our being called upon to engage in war. The proponents of this policy argue that by withdrawing from participation in world affairs, we would avoid conflicts or entanglements with other nations and would be free to pursue the tenor of our national life in peace and safety.

There is no worthier desire than to assure for our people the blessings of peace. But long and unmistakable experience offers abundant proof that the attainment of this precious end through a policy of national isolation is wholly outside the realm of possibility.

It is my firm conviction that national isolation is not a means to security, but rather a fruitful source of insecurity. For while we may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs, we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Attempts to achieve national isolation would not merely deprive us of any influence in the councils of nations, but would impair our ability to control our own affairs.

Deliberate renunciation by us of any participation in international affairs would make for an easier triumph on this planet of lawlessness, brute force, and war. In a world growing internationally more and more disordered and chaotic, we would be compelled to increase our armed defenses on a scale that would impose a truly crushing burden on our people. And even so, we would have to live in constant danger that the rising wave of international anarchy would, sooner or later, reach and batter down our own walls and engulf us as well as the rest of mankind.

In this respect, a nation is not different from an individual. When a citizen declines to take an interest in the affairs of his community and refuses to cooperate in promotion and support of law and order, he helps to open the way for the forces of lawlessness to take control. Let us not forget that the present spread of lawlessness in international relations is a direct consequence of the recent drift toward national isolation.

As against the unattainable benefits claimed for the policy of isolation we must visualize the costs of such a policy. By embarking upon a policy of national isolation we would doom our nation to conditions of life under which it would inevitably become economically poorer, intellectually impoverished, morally decadent. We would deliberately deprive ourselves of the benefits of those numerous international relationships which have nourished the stream of human progress and enriched the lives of all peoples, including our own. Neither our political structure of democratic government nor our social and economic structure of free enterprise and individual freedom under law could long survive the material and spiritual decay which national isolation would inescapably impose upon the nation. Like the individual who would seek safety and security for himself

through escape from the responsibilities of organized society into hermit-like isolation, a nation pursuing a similar course—even if it were to succeed for a time in avoiding assault by and conflict with other nations—would soon find its dream of safety and security a bitter illusion.

The search for national isolation springs from the counsel of despair and an admission of defeat. Not through a sudden and craven abandonment of our national traditions nor through attempts to turn our backs upon our responsibilities as a member of the family of civilized nations, can we advance and promote the best interests of our people. That we can do only through renewed devotion to those traditions; through an ever more resolute determination to be guided by them in the ordering of our national affairs and our international relations; and through a courageous facing of the facts by a united nation actuated by a vigorous, alert and informed public opinion.

The task is not easy. Under conditions such as now prevail, disillusionment and despair are not unnatural human reactions. But mankind's progress has always been slow and its road has always been strewn with difficulties, interruptions, set-backs, temporary disappointments, and repeated though transitory reappearances of ghosts which seem to have been laid forever.

Some of these ghosts are rising today. Two decades ago, the concept of peace based upon competitive armaments seemed to have been buried under the wreckage caused by an otherwise utterly destructive world conflict. Out of that purgatory, there emerged a profound realization that a new basis must be found for relations among nations. There arose a faith and a hope that a new spirit and a new system would come to prevail in the international structure of the world. The negotiation of numerous multilateral treaties and agreements, and the creation of appropriate regional and even world-wide organizations, were important steps in the direction of a system of true international cooperation—of a world order based upon international law; upon the principles of equality, justice, fairness, and mutual respect among nations; upon progressive disarmament; upon a determination to substitute for war as an arbiter of international relations, observance of the pledged word and willingness to compose international differences by pacific means.

The fact that today these efforts to establish, through international cooperation, a world order under law are being challenged again by the doctrine of armed force and lawless self-aggrandizement, leads many people to the belief that the idea and principles of a peaceful and orderly world have proved to be unworkable. This belief is the product of a dangerous and unfortunate weakening of confidence. The challenge itself has arisen because the recent years have been characterized by a disastrous lowering of standards of conduct on the part of both individuals and nations; by a relapse in the spiritual and moral strength and driving power of vast masses of mankind and a consequent faltering of the march of human progress. Such relapses and such falterings have occurred before. That they are temporary in nature is amply attested by the lesson of history.

In the circumstances of today, it is a part of wisdom and prudence for a great nation like ours to provide adequately for its national defense. Security is essential, and peace is better than war, even when, under conditions of grave emergency, it has to be temporarily assured by adequate national armaments. But peace thus maintained is precarious and unenduring—a makeshift, at best. Stable and durable peace can be achieved only through the universal enthronement of the spirit of respect for law and through a resumption of determined efforts toward international cooperation—both of which in our lifetime have revealed themselves as attainable realities. Not until it is proved that these are no longer effective world forces, will there be any justifiable grounds for the belief that armed force—and armed force alone—will rule international relations, and that, therefore, the outlook for peace, progress, and civilization is devoid of all hope.

At this crucial juncture of history, it is our nation's duty to itself to make its appropriate contribution toward preservation and advancement of the principles of international law and of the orderly and cooperative processes of international relations, which have evolved with—and have, in turn, promoted—the development of civilization. Toward that end we should maintain and strengthen our own adherence to the principles and processes of international law. We should exert all moral force of which we are capable towards influencing other nations to work for the same end and to accept and employ the civilized practices of pacific settlement in connection with such controversies as may arise among them. We should be prepared to aid, in every practicable way, resort to such peaceful means of settlement. Within the limitations of our traditional policies, and without entangling alliances or involvements, we should cooperate, sincerely and resolutely, with like-minded nations working toward the same goal toward which we are ourselves striving.

There are important and concrete steps which can and should be taken without delay to reverse the present disastrous trends in international relations.

With the world still in the throes of a profound economic dislocation, we are prepared to join with other nations in directing every effort toward the restoration and strengthening of sound and constructive international economic relationships.

With the world groaning under the burden of mounting armaments, we are prepared to join with other nations in moving resolutely toward bringing about an effective agreement on limitation and progressive reduction of armaments.

With the use of armed force assuming the aspect of scarcely imaginable brutality, we are prepared to join with other nations in resuming and vigorously carrying forward the work, so auspiciously begun at The Hague two generations ago, of humanizing by common agreement the rules and practices of warfare.

We are prepared to join with other nations in exploring all other methods of revitalizing the spirit of international cooperation and in

making use of every practicable means of giving it substance and reality through the numberless forms of concrete application of such principles of international political, economic and cultural relations as those to which I have referred.

All these are necessary and constructive steps in which a free and powerful nation like ours can and should participate wholeheartedly, if durable peace is to be firmly established and civilization is to survive and advance. There is desperate need in our country, and in every country, of a strong and united public opinion in support of such a renewal and demonstration of faith in the possibility of a world order based on law and international cooperative effort. When such public opinion has developed and when the momentous issue of today—the fateful decision as to whether relations among nations shall be governed by armed force or by cooperation and order under law—is clearly understood and visualized, there will be no insuperable difficulty in finding acceptable ways and means of achieving the desired end.

In the years which lie ahead, the chances that international anarchy and lawlessness will be replaced by order under law will largely depend upon the sincerity and firmness with which some nations, at least, maintain their devotion to the principles of international law, resting in turn upon the foundation of cooperation, justice and morality. I can wish for our country no more glorious course than to be a leader in devotion to these principles and in service of their preservation and advancement.

AMERICA'S ALOOFNESS

(An editorial in the New York Times, volume 87, page 22, November 30, 1937.)

The United States has lost its leadership in world affairs and to that fact largely can be attributed the impotence of the nine-power treaty conference in Brussels. The reason for this loss of influence is plain: treaty-breaking governments and dictators have become convinced that for no cause short of actual invasion will the United States initiate or join in any effective movement to assure world peace.

For this conviction on the part of these treaty-breakers the "isolationists" and "pacifists" in Congress and their vociferous supporters in the country are chiefly responsible. These groups include persons who believe that we can stay out of any world conflict. They attribute our entrance into the last international war to British propaganda and the schemes of bankers to enrich themselves; and they oppose any strong peace measures by this government, even though to abstain from such might mean the loss of freedom to those who regard it as highly as they themselves, and an impairment of liberty to men and women in this very hemisphere.

It is the assertion of such groups and their congressional representatives that, because of the gifts of nature and geography, the United States can retain its institutions and live its full life alone in a world where democracy does not elsewhere exist, even though Great Britain and France

were shackled by despotisms which turn human beings into machines for conquest and consign liberty to the fallacies of the past.

The power of these groups and their spokesmen has been in the ascendancy, as acts and events plainly indicate. In recent years they have seized upon every occasion when the American government was seeking to express the scruples of conscience against treaty-breaking and aggression, to proclaim that, in no circumstances, would this people do anything effective to restore moral standards among the nations. Organizing, writing pamphlets, and using the Congressional Record as their gazette, they gave notice as early as when Japan seized Manchukuo that the fixed future policy of the United States would be to keep out of war abroad, and that it would take no steps to prevent it, however clear the threat to our own institutions.

The attitude took form in the so-called neutrality act of 1936, with its "declaration of a state of war" and its "cash-and-carry" provisions. By the first named, the President was instructed by Congress, upon the discovery of the existence of a state of war abroad, to withhold war material from all concerned, regardless of whether an invaded nation, fighting for its own as in the case of Ethiopia, was left at the mercy of a most ruthless aggressor. By the second named, American vessels were virtually swept from the seas, and only those warring nations which have navies and trade fleets were given access to our markets.

Attempts, in the name of international decency, to distinguish between honest and dishonest governments and to permit aid to nations clearly acting in self-defense against banditry, were beaten down in Congress. The world was put on notice that the United States was out to save its own skin from immediate dangers; and the dictators were informed that the American group controlling policy was prepared to see the world remade on fascist lines without interference and apparently without understanding that this would mean anything dangerous to us at all.

When the President, recently voicing this people's indignation against the invasion of China by Japan and horror at the butchery at Shanghai, recalled that there still were "quarantines" against governments which did these things, a wholesome fear arose in certain capitals that the neutrality act might not represent enduring policy for the United States. And when next day the state department named Japan as aggressor, the fear spread. But a little inquiry sufficed to prove that the pacifist and isolationist groups would not thus be led. Their congressional representatives denounced the expressions as violations of the spirit of the neutrality act, which in truth they were, and, as soon as Congress met, the press cables carried abroad proposals of war referenda and other evidences that the group which framed the act is unchanged in its attitude. The Japanese ambassador to Washington did his duty, and did it accurately and well, when he informed his colleague at Brussels that pacifism was still the American mood. The circulation of this report in the conference capital both tempered the messages to Tokyo and stiffened the rejections therefrom and in its atmosphere the Brussels conference went to its inevitable, inept doom.

Meanwhile, on the pretext that a world alliance against communism is the first essential to peace, Japan, Germany, and Italy have signed a treaty. Outwardly it pledges these governments to stand with force against the encroachment of soviet teachings and the soviet form of government. But in some European chancelleries and in Washington the pact is interpreted as a pledge, necessarily not stated in the treaty, that each of these three nations will stand by the other two, defensively and offensively, until each has gained its territorial and other objectives. To illustrate: If Italy further threatens in the Mediterranean and Great Britain steps in to check, Japan will proceed against Hongkong and Singapore. If Germany thrusts southeastward in Europe and Great Britain and France move to check, Italy will extend her Mediterranean spheres and Japan will strike at French and British possessions in the orient.

The ability of the three fascist states to carry out the arrangement outlined above is, of course, open to the most serious doubts. Germany's Baltic coast is bare to the attack of the British fleet, and experts are far from convinced that Mussolini could have his way in the Mediterranean, even with Britain greatly preoccupied in northern European waters. The fact, however, that such a construction by responsible statesmen is placed upon the treaty, which was heretofore largely regarded as a mutual envisioning of bugaboos, now places the alliance where the democracies of the two hemispheres must consider it in stating their policies. And nothing could more effectively give expression to realization of the danger implicit in it than a tangible expression of the determination of this country to stand by the other democracies should the need arise.

This is not a preachment for war measures. The people of the United States are set against military expeditions, and rightly so. But there are effective peace measures, the most recent illustration being the decision of the British and American governments to negotiate a trade treaty. This should be supplemented by every possible kind of private and public cooperation between Britons and Americans and others who speak, if not the same language, at least the same spiritual tongue. Understandings on trade, money and credit will serve as certain weapons against treaty-breakers.

Our statesmen and leaders of public thought could aid peace mightily if, losing fear of the blind peace groups and gaining confidence that plain common sense and self-interest can be trusted, they engaged in public exchanges to put the enemies of peace on notice that the great democracies are aware of what is planned and will stand together against it. The sure shadow of economic starvation on spendthrift governments which cannot wage war unless we supply them, and deny supplies to their victims, can be made sufficiently effective as a deterrent without resort to the substance of sanctions or war.

Should such cooperation be publicly and steadily revealed, and such exchanges of thought take place, the New York Times believes the American people will awake to the facts which menace this nation; and the world will learn that events are conceivable, that circumstances can arise, outside this hemisphere, which will instantly range American public opinion

behind an effective peace policy and make junk overnight of the so-called neutrality act. In the face of such exchanges of thought the policy of democratic nations will be stiffened and grooved; and treaty-breakers and dictators will take prudent counsel among themselves.

In such a manner can this nation restore a will for peace in the world and reestablish its lost leadership in international affairs. By such means the ravishers of small and weak neighbors and the enemies of democracy will discover that the United States has not become so timorous and so stupid as to abandon its responsibilities and imperil its greatness and its freedom. It will be wise to put them on notice at once.

SINGAPORE—A WARNING TO JAPAN

(Excerpts from an article by John Gunther in the Saturday Evening Post, volume 210, pages 10-11, June 18, 1938. Reprinted by special permission of the Saturday Evening Post, copyright 1938, by the Curtis Publishing Co.)

Field Marshal Lord Roberts once said that the history of the world would be decided at Singapore some day. There is reason to think that the British are getting ready for the day. For they have built Singapore base, a new, bigger and better Gibraltar, one of the most formidable concatenations of naval, military and strategic power ever put together anywhere.

The major advantages of Singapore as the site for this giant base are three. First, geography. It is not like Malta, vulnerable to attack from a near-by neighbor; Singapore controls the trade route to Japan, but Japan is 3,000 miles away. Second, it has a completely peaceful hinterland; politics hardly exist in Malaya; there is no nationalist movement. Think, by contrast, of British bases in Egypt, Iraq, or India, where the consequences of British occupation have been an acute political problem. Third, it is beautifully equipped for aircraft. Think, by contrast, of Gibraltar, gravely handicapped because there are no convenient landing fields, with Germany reported to be arming the opposite shore from Algeciras to Tarifa with heavy guns.

The concentration of power at Singapore performs a number of functions. It provides oil storage for the British fleet, as well as dockyards for naval repair. It backs up Hongkong and is a factor in the protection of Australia. It guards Colombo and Calcutta. It drives a great armored stake into a great imperial pivot, the junction of the trade routes from India and the west to China and beyond.

But above all else, Singapore base is a warning to Japan. Hardly an aggresive gesture. But somewhat of a threat, considerable of a warning. Singapore base tells the Japanese, in a language they understand, that the British still mean business in that part of the world.

This is precisely why what appeared to be an innocent enough announcement caused so great a flurry in the world politics during January of this year. The announcement was that three American cruisers, the Trenton, the Milwaukee, and the Memphis, would participate in the formal opening

of the naval base on February 14th last. It caused an outburst of speculation in Tokyo, among other places. Authorities in Singapore professed to be ignorant of the source of the arrangement. The admiralty in London kept very quiet. So did the navy department in Washington.

It now appears that the visit had been mooted for some time. The cruisers had been scheduled to make a visit to Singapore after their call at Sydney, Australia, where they participated in the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration of the settlement of Australia. It happened that the date very nearly coincided with the Singapore ceremony, and, since it might have looked strange if the American cruisers came to Singapore and just missed the inauguration, arrangements were made so that they would come in time to participate.

Heartburnings and tremors bothered Singapore editors. They didn't want to be unfriendly to the United States. But they did not want to have to ask other countries to attend, chiefly Japan, and they feared that if the United States came, other nations—again notably Japan—might ask to be invited.

Wrote the Singapore Free Press on January 17th: "Japan's present anger appears to be inspired by the proposed visit of three United States cruisers to the opening ceremony of the naval base, which is seen by some as evidence cf Anglo-U. S. naval cooperation. The cruisers' visit certainly creates a new situation, for, whereas the admiralty undoubtedly wished foreign powers to hear about Singapore, it is certain that they did not wish them to attend the opening ceremony. Singapore information suggests that the United States is gate-crashing, but whether or not their warships have been invited, their presence will be welcome. Any step towards closer friendship between Britain and the United States is to be welcomed."

At about the same time another Singapore editor, likewise nervous, went out on a long limb by saying that the admiralty had not been informed of the American visit—which is patent nonsense—and that if the American ships did come, there would be no question of their "participation" in the ceremony. On February 3d, the Singapore Free Press chimed in again with the remark that some lesser official of the admiralty had apparently failed "to realize the repercussions" of an invitation to just one power, and that "an error has been committed that will tax the ingenuity of the British government to rectify."

Journalism isn't exactly free in Singapore. When it appeared that more editorials on the same line might come out, which would put British hosts in a position of being ungracious to American guests, the situation was rectified.

The American cruisers duly arrived; they were greeted with the utmost courtesy; they stayed a full week, and the visit was a great success. Rear Admiral J. C. Townsend, the commander of the squadron, was the guest of the governor of the Straits Settlement, Sir Shenton Thomas, during the stay.

When the American cruisers left on February 21st, two British warships, the Norfolk and the Emerald, did likewise. It was announced that,

whereas the American ships would go to Manila, the British ships would proceed to Colombo, "more or less directly." So immediately the rumor spread of joint maneuvers. They have not been verified. But it is a point to note that the American ships took a week to get to Manila, though the ordinary cruising time is three and one-half days.

One thing is clear as the eye of a pike. The visit, whatever its origin, had much greater significance than an ordinary courtesy call of units of one navy to another. The opening of the Singapore base, a cardinal event in British rearmament and the evolution of British Pacific policy, cannot be viewed in a vacuum. It must be viewed in the light of the war in China, of Japanese pressure to the south and east. Maybe the American visit wasn't exactly a joint demonstration. But it came very close to it, and certainly it gave Japan something to think about.

THE PITFALLS OF THE NEW AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

(Excerpts from an article by Francis Deák in International Conciliation for May, 1938, pages 179-192.)

Is neutrality as conceived and practiced by the United States today an insurance against war? If so, how high is the premium which the insured must pay?

Considering the argument advanced in 1935 and since by its proponents, in and out of Congress, in support of the neutrality legislation allegedly designed to prevent our involvement in other people's wars, these seem to be pertinent questions to ask ourselves. In the perspective of two and a half years, experience gained from the operation of the neutrality acts permits us to attempt to answer these questions with some objectivity and with detachment from the emotional partisanship which, with some exceptions, characterized agitation both for and against the adoption of this legislation.

It was in the face of war-clouds gathering over Ethiopia and the resulting tension between Great Britain and Italy that Congress hurriedly enacted the first so-called neutrality act in the last days of August, 1935. This temporary measure in force until May 1, 1936, was extended at the end of April, 1936, for one year. The only significant change made at that time was the addition of a clause prohibiting loans to belligerents. In January, 1937, the dangerous international situation created by the Spanish civil war and the unstable conditions in the far east induced the administration to seek permanent legislation with which to replace the temporary measures theretofore enacted. The result was joint resolution No. 27, approved by the President on May 1, 1937, which, with the exception of section 2 to be in force for two years only, is to govern the conduct of the United States in the future if war should occur in any corner of the earth. It may be noted at the outset that the basic policy of the present act does not differ materially from that of its predecessors of 1935 and 1936. Although some of the loopholes, discovered by experience or suggestion, have been plugged, and some novel features have been added, the law now in force does not in any way indicate that the

intervening years have been used for careful and deliberate study which the complex problems involved would call for.

The substantive provisions of the act now in force may be briefly stated as follows: A Presidential proclamation that a state of war exists between foreign states automatically puts an embargo on the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerents or neutral states for transshipment to such belligerents. In case of civil war such embargo may be imposed if the President finds that export of arms may, on account of the extent of the civil war, threaten the peace of the United States. In either event the embargoed arms and ammunition must be enumerated by Presidential proclamation. The finding, by the President, of a "state of war" or civil war, also puts automatically an embargo on financial transactions with any belligerent government or its agents except that the President may, in his discretion, permit the continuance of commercial credits and short-time obligations in normal peace-time commercial transactions. The Presidential proclamation also brings automatically into operation a prohibition against any American ship carrying arms, ammunition, or implements of war to belligerents or to any neutral state for transshipment to such belligerents; against American nationals traveling on belligerent vessels; and against the arming of American merchantmen going to a belligerent port. The act further contains provisions designed to prevent the use of American ports by belligerents as bases of supply; and authorizes the President to regulate and restrict the use of our ports and territorial waters by submarines and armed merchantmen of foreign states. All these provisions, together with section 5 of the act relating to the continued operation of the National Munitions Control Board (already established under the first temporary neutrality act of 1935) are of a permanent character. Permanent also is section 4, which, subject to certain reservations, exempts from the operation of the act American republics at war with a non-American state—a provision blatantly irreconcilable with the classic concept of neutrality involving impartiality as well as non-participation.

On the other hand section 2, which is the main novel feature of the act, was enacted for two years only. Since this is the most essential and controversial part of the whole legislation, it is fortunate that it took the form of a temporary measure pending, let us hope, further study as to its desirability. This section provides, first, that in addition to arms, ammunition, and implements of war, the President may restrict the transport in American vessels of certain other articles or materials to belligerents or to neutral states for transshipment to such belligerents; under limitations which the President is authorized to prescribe, transportation of such materials may, however, be permitted on or over inland waters or lands bordering the United States. The exercise of this authority is conditioned upon a Presidential finding that such measure is "necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States or to protect the lives of citizens of the United States." Section 2 further provides that when restrictions have been placed upon the export of articles other than arms and ammunition, shipment or transportation of

such articles or materials to belligerents, or to neutral states for transshipment to such belligerents, is unlawful until all right, title, and interest therein shall have been transferred to the foreign consignee. This is commonly known as the "cash and carry" plan. It would be perhaps more accurate to describe it as the policy of "transferred risk."

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

(Exceprts from "Anglo-American Relations," Editorial Research Reports for August 26, 1938, prepared by Buel W. Patch.)

Events in the world during the last five years have provided a natural impetus to development of closer Anglo-American relations. Direct threats to British interests in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the far east, together with the weakening of international peace machinery, have made it obviously expedient for Great Britain to strengthen her ties with the United States. The threat to American interests has been less extensive and less direct, but the rising fear of a general war, which would seriously affect—even if it did not actually involve—this country, has convinced the administration of the wisdom of resisting isolationist sentiment in Congress and, so far as circumstances permit, of following a policy of cooperation with other like-minded nations. Of the latter, the chief is Great Britain.

The first serious break in the international peace structure built up since the World War occurred only three weeks after President Roosevelt took office, when Japan resigned from the League of Nations. In October, 1933, Germany left both the league and the disarmament conference. In the summer of 1934 the nazis produced their first European war scare with the assassination of Chancellor Dollfus and an attempt to seize control in Austria. At the end of that year Japan gave notice of its intention to abrogate the Washington naval treaty. This action and the subsequent failure to negotiate a new treaty to replace the Washington and the expiring London treaties resulted in removal of all quantitative naval limitations on December 31, 1936.

In 1935 the international situation became more acute with Hitler's repudiation of the disarmament clauses of the treaty of Versailles and Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936, in defiance of the Versailles and Locarno treaties, was followed within a few months by outbreak of the civil war in Spain, which threatened to be the forerunner of a general European conflict. Later in the year Germany and Italy created the Rome-Berlin axis and Germany made an anti-communist pact with Japan, to which Italy also subscribed on November 6, 1937. By that time Japan was deeply engaged in a new offensive in China. Before the end of 1937 Italy had become the third great power to retire from the league. In March, 1938, Germany's sudden invasion and annexation of Austria caused another European crisis which left in its wake grave fears for the safety of Czechoslovakia.

Throughout the conflict in China, the United States and Great Britain appear to have been following a parallel course which stops short of open

cooperation but gives to the representations or the actions of each nation greater force than might otherwise be the case. There have been various indications, moreover, that the groundwork is being laid for cooperation between the American and British navies in the Pacific if the need ever arises. In January, 1938, Captain Royal E. Ingersoll, chief of the war plans division of the American Office of Naval Operations, conferred with the admiralty officials in London. In mid-February three American cruisers were the only foreign vessels to attend the formal opening ceremonies at the great British naval base in Singapore, and it was intimated that docking facilities would be available there for American ships.

On March 3, 1938, President Roosevelt laid formal claim to Canton and Enderbury Islands, valuable as potential bases for an air route between Hawaii and Australia and New Zealand. Great Britain also claimed sovereignty to the islands, but the dispute as to title was left in abeyance when announcement was made August 10 of an unusual agreement for joint administration of the islands and their common use "for purposes connected with international aviation and communication."

The Ingersoll visit to London gave rise to rumors of a naval understanding with Great Britain, which disturbed isolationists in Congress. Admiral Leahy, chief of naval operations, when questioned at a house committee hearing, at first refused to divulge the subject of the Ingersoll conversations and later admitted only that tonnage of combatant vessels had been discussed. He insisted, however, that the navy had no foreign commitments or understandings regarding assistance to be given or received, and that there had been "no talk of giving or receiving assistance."

The Marquess of Lothian contended in a press interview last month that the "British commonwealth is the United States' outer ring of security," and that "if it disappears or is smashed by the fascist states, so that Gibraltar, the Suez, Singapore, Capetown, and the Falkland Islands fall into the hands of Germany, Italy, or Japan, then, as the British Empire disintegrates, the military powers would crowd around the United States."

AFFIRMATIVE REFERENCES

OUR BONDS WITH THE BRITISH

(An article by Livingston Hartley in the North American Review, volume 245, pages 95-110, Spring, 1938.)

The intimacy between the United States and the British Empire, growing progressively through the depression years, has today reached an all-time high. Our administration is now seeking to crown its farsighted efforts to free international commerce with a trade agreement with the United Kingdom. The treasury department is working closely with London to maintain the stable ratio of the dollar and the pound established in the tripartite agreement of September, 1936. The navy department remained unperturbed by a British rearmament program of five new capital ships at a time when we were only laying down two. And the high-ceilinged rooms of the state department contain very few officials who do not believe that a stronger Britain will benefit the national interests of the United States.

This happy relationship of governments finds an echo in the present attitude of the American public towards Great Britain. The drama of Edward of Windsor absorbed our people to the exclusion of all local issues, and the coronation drove our own serious political and economic problems to obscure corners of the front page. Millions of Americans, fearing that the war with Spain will yet ignite the long-dreaded European conflagration, pin their hopes for its continued insulation upon the policy of London. Meanwhile our editorial columns insistently urge the British to do those things in world affairs we will not do ourselves.

Our present harmony is the more extraordinary because it defies and refutes the oft-proved lessons of history. As Athens and Sparta, Rome and Carthage, and Britain's successive conflicts with Spain, Holland, France, and Germany seemed to have shown, the natural tendency of the two greatest naval and commercial powers is to clash rather than to cooperate. So when we replaced Germany in 1918 as the principal rival of Britain for sea-power and trade, our local Jeremiahs shook their heads and prophesied a dark outlook on the Atlantic. Yet the last nineteen years have laughed at their gloomy prognostications, bringing instead a progressive improvement in Anglo-American relations.

The continuance of this intimacy between the two greatest world powers is of the utmost importance to the peoples of both. It is pertinent, therefore, to examine its fundamental causes, to seek to obtain a comprehensive picture of the principal factors upon which it is based. For if these are only of temporary character, our present harmony may evaporate. But if they are enduring, our friendly relations with the British Empire will also endure, subject to minor recessions but never to complete collapse.

As surveyed from an American angle, there is both a positive and a negative side to our bonds with the British. The first may be summarized briefly here, since many of its aspects are already widely appreciated. The more limited negative side, to which little thought has been given by the general public, requires more extended consideration.

Our principal positive ties with the British Empire may be grouped under eight general headings.

1. The intangible bonds created by a common origin, a common language, common institutions, and a great similarity of legal and moral standards and political thought. This affinity has been stressed so constantly by statesmen, writers and public speakers as to require no detailed treatment here. While it cannot be weighed in specific terms, it cannot be ignored by foreign governments, since it paves the way for political cooperation when parallel interests are imperiled.

2. A very tangible bond is mutual trade, which amounts to a far greater proportion of our total foreign commerce than most Americans realize. Some eighteen percent of our total exports went to the United Kingdom in 1934, some fourteen percent to Canada, and over forty percent to the entire British Empire. These figures speak for themselves. Despite all the ballyhoo we have heard about Latin American markets in recent years, our exports to the empire are more than five times as large as to the whole of South America.

Our imports from the British Empire are not quite as extensive, comprising about thirty-four percent of our total importation from abroad. Our trade with British owned territory amounts, accordingly, to well over one-third of our entire foreign commerce, a figure out of all proportion to such Anglo-American export rivalry as exists in certain overseas markets.

3. An equally tangible link with the British Empire is the sum of direct investments Americans have made in enterprises situated in British territories. Such investments in Canada, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, India, Malaya, and British Africa amount to more than $2,700,000,000, or over thirty-six percent of our world total. When we include securities as well, we find that our investments in Canada alone reach a figure of $3,700,000,000, or about one quarter of our entire financial stake abroad.

4. The growth of the British dominions to full partnership in the British commonwealth of nations has drawn the empire closer to the United States. Three of the dominions now maintain their own legations in Washington; all of them are members of the League of Nations and all of them now have a real voice in the foreign policy of the London government.

In their attitude towards Europe the dominions react more like the American people than the British. Whereas Great Britain is bound to Europe by geography, the overseas dominions view with almost American alarm any binding entanglements in the power politics of Europe. Although they are among strong adherents of collective security on a worldwide scale, they have consistently refused to subscribe to military commitments in Europe, such as those of the Locarno treaty.

The United States has, for this reason, far more kinship of view with the British Empire on foreign affairs than it would have with Great Britain alone, since the latter cannot help being a European power. The

dominions, moreover, enable us to secure by roundabout methods better British support for American policies than we can obtain direct from London, as was shown in the termination of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1922, and during the Manchurian dispute, the naval limitation negotiations and the recent imperial conference. If we should ever come into serious conflict with Japan in the Pacific, we should find Canada, Australia, and New Zealand valuable catalytic agents in crystallizing behind us the political power of the British Empire.

5. Canada, the greatest of the dominions, is a pledge to Anglo-American amity. The famed three thousand miles of undefended frontier proclaim more eloquently than any treaty the British need for permanent peace with the United States, since the British Commonwealth of Nations would dissolve into its component parts if that peace were ever broken. Canada would have to secede from the empire in such an event as the only way to protect her national security, a procedure some of her sister dominions might be expected to emulate. The position of Canada, consequently, imposes a lower limit on British relations with the United States which the London government can never pass without danger of splitting the empire.

The ties that bind the American and Canadian peoples, geographical, historical, political, economic, and financial, and their similarity of outlook and community of interests are already widely recognized on both sides of the border. Their relationship is indeed so unique in the strength and magnitude of its interwoven strands as to point to one inescapable conclusion: as long as Canada maintains its allegiance to the house of Windsor, our relations with the British Empire must be more intimate and more amicable than our relations with any other world power.

6. The larger interests of the United States and the British Empire are parallel in eastern Asia. Both are now responsible for far eastern territories too weak to stand alone, and the Pacific interests of each are threatened by the aggressive and expansionist policy of Japan.

Great Britain has long stood with the United States behind the principles of Chinese integrity and the open door in China. Her government seconded John Hay's early efforts to secure their international acceptance, and Lord Balfour ably assisted Secretary Hughes in writing them into the nine-power treaty of 1922.

Although neither government has proved willing to maintain these principles by force against Japan, they remain the accepted policy. The present attempt of the Japanese army to make China into another Manchukuo has thrown a lurid light upon the parallelism of British and American interests across the Pacific. The military conquest of Peiping, Shanghai and Nanking, the threat of a similar seizure of Canton, and the inclusion of Mussolini in Tokyo's ominous partnership with Berlin, have caused the British to abandon the anaemic role Sir John Simon played in 1932. Mr. Eden, in contrast, now announces that he will move step by step with the state department, while national concentration on rearmament, the development of the Singapore base, and the fortification of

Hongkong indicate that Britain is prepared for a stronger stand in eastern Asia. Such a stand would obviously confer a direct and far-reaching benefit to the Pacific interests of the United States.

7. The recent rise of rightist and leftist "ideologies" has pushed democratic beliefs, practices and institutions to a central place on the Anglo-American canvas. A dozen years ago we took our democracy calmly as the accepted order of things, and expected more backward nations to embrace it as they became politically mature. We looked upon Mussolini as a temporary atavistic aberration. We never dreamed of Hitler in our wildest visions. And we did not believe the Moscow dictatorship would endure.

Today, in contrast, we see free government pushed to the fringe of Europe, with Czechoslovakia and Switzerland its only outposts unwashed by Atlantic waves. We have witnessed the ruthless, cynical defiance of international law and morals by the fascist international in Spain, and listened to its proclamation of the coming submergence of "bolshevik and democratic states." It is only natural in these circumstances that Americans should look on Britain as the trans-Atlantic center of sanity and liberty, and regard the Mother of Parliaments as the strongest bulwark of free institutions in Europe. Democracy, liquidated in so many lands by the shouting dictator, his hysterical followers and subservient yesmen, and his pitiless secret police, has become a mutual bond which influences profoundly the attitude of every English-speaking voter.

8. Last, but far from least, is our parallel position on peace. Both the United States and the British Empire are "status quo" powers with much to lose and little to gain by war. Both have bound themselves in pyramiding international treaties to abstain from war "as an instrument of national policy." It might be claimed by foreigners, accustomed to the low valuation their leaders and general staffs have placed upon their own national honor, that these engagements mean no more in Washington or London than in some other capitals. But we know that this is not true, that the mass of our peoples are solidly behind these pledges, as the eleven million British "peace ballot" voters of 1935 and the nation-wide reactions of Americans to Manchuria, Ethiopia, Shanghai, and the aggressive policies of Hitler have demonstrated.

Our common aversion to military expansion has been shown by our actions as well as by our reactions. We have withdrawn from Haiti and Nicaragua, relinquished our treaty right to intervene in Cuba, provided for the independence of the Philippines, and ratified the non-intervention protocol adopted by the inter-American conference at Buenos Aires. This proof of our good-neighbor policy is all the more elequent when our paramount power position in relation to our neighbors is borne in mind. The British have lately followed a similar course, marked by the evolution of their commonwealth of nations, the independence of Iraq, the recent treaty with Egypt and the new constitution for India.

Both of our nations, moreover, support the preservation of peace throughout the world. American efforts in this direction have been persistent in recent years, even though insignificant when compared with our

predominant world power and influence, and frequently limited to what we term "moral pressure." The British, exposed to danger on most of the seven seas, have undertaken far more positive and effective action. Their unremitting efforts to avert war have made competent American observers virtually unanimous on two conclusions: first, that Britain is the strongest bulwark of world peace today, and second, that British rearmament is primarily responsible for the decline of fear in Europe during the past year.

It will readily be seen that most of the Anglo-American bonds mentioned above are of enduring nature, and could only be broken by some radical transformation in either nation, such as the overthrow of democracy, the development of an imperialistic drive in America, or the collapse of the British Empire. We must not forget, furthermore, that their progressive development has been accompanied by the elimination of certain former causes of friction. Foremost among these is the Irish question, which for decades had created bitter hostility towards Britain among millions of influential Irish-Americans.

This side of our relationship with the British Empire is already generally recognized by the American public. Even where our people have not visualized clearly its specific causes, they possess an instinctive appreciation of their sum result. But the negative side of our relationship, potentially of comparable importance, has been given little thought by the average voter. It can only be understood by realizing how the continued existence of the British Empire serves the most vital national interests of the United States.

We can best see this picture by endeavoring to find the answer to the following question—how would America be affected if the British Empire were destroyed, the royal navy removed from the international state, and Great Britain herself reduced to the status of a second class power?

Such an earth-shaking event could, presumably, only be brought about by the conclusive defeat of the United Kingdom in a new European war. Her triumphant adversary would then inherit her present position in Europe, and with it the rule of the European waves. It will clarify our picture to paint into it here the only potential European enemy which might conceivably fill such a role in the more immediate future. France, seeking primarily her own security and bound firmly to Britain for over thirty years by strategic geography, is clearly out of the question. Russia, remote from the British Isles with her naval outlets confined to the Baltic and Black seas, might do terrible things to the British Empire in the middle east, but could not threaten its heart without the aid of a more adjacent ally. Italy, similarly, might succeed in driving the British flag from the Mediterranean, but could not menace the British Isles without the assistance of an Atlantic sea power.

Germany alone is favorably situated to play such a role, either alone or in concert with her "ideological" partners in Rome or Tokyo. She possesses at once the greatest "war potential" in Europe, a central position which permits expansion in all directions, and North sea bases within two hours bombing flight of London. Her aircraft and her submarines can

now strike directly at British cities and communications from these bases; if her army could win for her simultaneously the channel ports of northern France, Berlin's dream of 1917 might become a fact. The nazi government, moreover, has demonstrated clearly by aggressive policies and its published program the expansion urge that motivates its leaders. It is no secret that Britain's rearmament drive is aimed primarily at Berlin.

It seems reasonable to hold, accordingly, that the third Reich would play the predominant part in any conclusive defeat of Great Britain. How would German annihilation of British power affect the United States? This question can best be considered from four separate angles.

1. The British navy would no longer be able to prevent a German challenge to the Monroe Doctrine or German expansion across the Atlantic. The United States would lose, in consequence, one of the basic elements in its present national security. This conclusion, which may seem at first sight startling, requires some explanation.

As long as Britannia rules the European waves, no continental power can conduct a naval campaign against our hemisphere without the acquiescence of the British government. Geography, strategy, and relative ratios of sea strength give the British battle-fleet an absolute veto over any attack on either of the Americas, and enable it to function as an effective bulwark of the Monroe Doctrine and our Atlantic security, without firing a gun.

The German, French, or Italian fleets cannot sail far westward with aggressive intent as long as the British navy, secure in its home bases and Gibraltar, can at any time cut off their communications, their supplies and their safe return home. British sea power, consequently, plays a decisive role in the eastern Atlantic, setting a definite limit on the westward activities of any continental fleet or combination of fleets.

This virtual guarantee of our Atlantic security by Great Britain is, of course, entirely voluntary, but, since it is based upon self-interest, it is none the less effective. Great Britain cannot afford to allow a potentially hostile European naval power to establish Atlantic bases which might threaten her imperial communications.

We experienced the protective value of British sea power a generation ago, when the German navy was far stronger than our own. At that time, when the Kaiser was seeking a "place in the sun" wherever one could be seized, the sun was shining brilliantly on a tempting array of places in South America. Yet German imperialism never went further in the western hemisphere than an abortive attempt to collect by force some debts from Venezuela in 1902. The Berlin government never dared challenge the Monroe Doctrine, although its naval and military power was then sufficient to have permitted a successful attack on Brazil in the face of our navy. A controlling factor in this German restraint towards our southern neighbors was the attitude of Great Britain, which was opposed to German expansion in the western hemisphere. With the superior British battle-fleet sitting securely on her front doorstep, Germany could not afford to risk an oceanic clash in the Atlantic.

It is easy to see, accordingly, how the elimination of the royal navy would affect the Atlantic security of the United States. We should have to undertake its direct protection ourselves, and prepare to face at any time an expansive drive of a triumphant Germany in either the north or south Atlantic. We could then no longer concentrate our fleet in the Pacific as we do today. We should have to strive instead to maintain a margin of naval supremacy over potential enemies in two widely separated oceans, a task which we might or might not prove able to accomplish.

2. The reduction of British sea power would also change fundamentally the position of the United States on the Pacific. It would bring to a sudden end the support we now receive from the British in the far east, a region in which we have long undertaken more direct protection of our interests than we have in Europe.

The United States is now the dominant naval power on the Pacific, the only western nation which can maintain there a sea strength comparable with Japan's. Under modern conditions, it is generally agreed that our navy would encounter great difficulty and danger in attempting an offensive in far eastern waters alone. A joint British and American offensive, on the other hand, could not be indefinitely withstood, as even the most rabid Japanese imperialists realize. Consequently, the community of interests between Washington and London on so many far eastern questions and the ever-present possibility that they might one day act together to protect these interests are factors of basic importance in the Pacific position of the United States.

If the British navy were removed by Germany from the international scene, leaving Hongkong, Singapore, and Australia bereft of the protection of the white ensign, the resultant change in our position would be serious. We should have lost our principal support against Japan, yet our rivalry with Japan would continue. The leading European power in the far east would no longer be the British Empire but nazi Germany. It is possible, of course, that the victorious German dictatorship might seek to aid the United States to restrain the overseas expansion of the Japanese military oligarchy. But it is also possible that Berlin would prefer to work with Tokyo against democratic America, perhaps along the lines of their existing "front" against Russia.

Common sense would point to the latter alternative, since Germany and Japan, separated by the width of Eurasia, would have little reason to clash in their regional areas of predominance. Both, however, would have cause for increasing friction with us over our restrictive immigration and tariff policies and the veto we have placed upon overseas interference with our richly endowed hemisphere.

3. The defeat and subsequent disintegration of the British Empire would leave the dominions, so rich in resources but so poor in population and military strength, adrift on exceedingly stormy international seas. Their fate would be of vital interest to the United States for two reasons: first, because they of all nations are closest to us in their attitude towards world affairs, and hence constitute a powerful influence on our side of

the fence in any crisis we may face; second, because their conquest by aggressive, expanding powers would strike a serious blow at our own strategic situation.

A Canadian republic on our northern border would, as a result of geography, receive the same protection from the American navy that Canada enjoys today. Distant South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, however, would be far too weak to maintain their own independence without powerful support. The South African union, under such conditions, would seem destined to suffer eventual military occupation despite any efforts of our government, once Germany had consolidated beneath her grasp the former African territories of her defeated European enemies. But the fate of Australia and New Zealand would depend directly upon the attitude of the United States.

Our country alone would have the power to prevent the conquest of these two dominions by Japan. Would we be willing to undertake their protection, to form with them alliances of the most "entangling" nature, to risk war for their defense? The prospect sounds dangerous and very far removed from political isolation, but the only visible alternative is dangerous too. That is to see the Japanese Empire expand southward until it covered the entire western Pacific, to watch it grow in power, resources and manpower, and to realize that its progressive control of the Pacific could only be stopped in the end by the United States.

4. The world-wide galaxy of heterogeneous territories that now form the dependencies of the British Empire would create an analagous problem for America. If Great Britain were crushed by Germany, what would be the fate of India, Malaya, British dependencies in Africa and the near and middle east and British naval bases in all parts of the globe? It is obvious that these territories could not remain independent, but would be absorbed by other powers. It is also obvious that the foreign powers best able to absorb them would be the victorious German Reich and an imperialist Japan which was eager to capitalize the new far eastern supremacy she had gained from Germany's defeat of Great Britain.

What policy would the United States pursue towards these territories? Would we enter the race to seize them at the risk of war and in opposition to our historic policy of avoiding such entanglements in other continents? Or would we remain passive and detached, while Japanese empire builders moved southward on Singapore, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies and eastward half across the Pacific, and while Berlin pushed the swastika east towards India and south towards Capetown?

The German "inheritance" of the west African coast, which would seem certain to follow a military defeat of Great Britain and France, would be of direct and compelling interest to the United States. The eastern point of Brazil is 3500 miles from our Atlantic coast, but less than 1800 from Dakar. If a German dictatorship which surveyed South American resources with a greedy eye were free to stud the bulge of Africa with modern naval bases, the strategic foundation of the Monroe Doctrine would be seriously undermined. Even if we proved able then to hold our

own in naval power in the north Atlantic while simultaneously building up to Japan on our other ocean, our ability to furnish protection to distant South American republics would be reduced near to the vanishing point.

The above brief survey shows how vitally the existence of the British Empire serves America today. It suggests that the continuance of this empire is a fundamental requisite for our present detachment from European politics, which would come to a sudden end if it were destroyed.

Should such a catastrophe occur, we should lose not only our best customer and foreign friend, a world-wide political entity containing half a billion people to whom we are bound by unique ties of exceptional strength and magnitude, but also our present position in world affairs. We should be pushed overnight into the maelstrom of power politics, forced to play a high-pressure role we have never contemplated in overseas regions, and compelled to dedicate our national energies to armaments in order to safeguard our national future.

Some Americans believe, for these reasons, that we could not afford to allow the British Empire to be destroyed, that it would be preferable to intervene ourselves in an overseas war rather than to permit such a disaster for America. Whether or not this view is justified can only be determined by a dispassionate, factual examination of our long-range national interests.

There remains no doubt, however, that our unexampled positive bonds with the British Empire have been molded and in some parts created by the negative side of the Anglo-American relationship considered above. In this time of world uncertainty, when all nations stand on the threshold of the unknown, it is essential that the American people should see both sides of the picture.

A MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND

(An article by Lord Beaverbrook in the American Mercury, volume 38, pages 433-437, August, 1936.)

The United States and Great Britain will, I believe, enter into a military and naval alliance in the course of time. They will make such an alliance because they must do so. There is no alternative for these two nations but to find security for the future in the companionship of one another.

In some quarters of Great Britain it is believed that the United States will not have the alliance. And there is, accordingly, a reluctant tendency to put this ideal of closer relations in the category of admirable but unattainable objects. This regretful conviction is, in my view, profoundly mistaken. Perhaps the people of the United States take the view that Britain's liabilities are too big and her assets not big enough. If this were an accurate estimate of the situation of Britain, then, of course, it would be a reasonable attitude to adopt. No one could quarrel with it. The matter would be at an end. But it is not accurate. Indeed, it is totally wrong. Britain would bring very substantial assets to any joint account that the two nations might enter on. And, if we are to have a true picture of the situation between the two countries, we must not leave

the liabilities of the United States out of the reckoning. Make no mistake, those liabilities are great indeed, and you do not escape from them by withdrawing from the Philippines. On balance, I believe that the surplus of assets is to be found on the side of the British Empire.

There is, to begin with, the very great burden you have incurred under the Monroe Doctrine, to defend all the independent states of the American continent against the aggression of a foreign power. This is a heavy responsibility. It may seem that an attack on any South American country by a foreign state is a very remote contingency. But are you so sure that it is? For instance, we have seen Italians in the Argentine determining the policy of that republic to the League of Nations. Will the Italians go further? We live in an age of hungry and ambitious powers whose governments are not subject to the same democratic checks upon reckless adventure as exist in the United States and in Britain.

But another liability is, of course, much more immediate and obvious: the peril in the Pacific. The threat of the Japanese fleet, with, behind it, the threat of the Japanese army. There is no need to indulge in scaremongering on this subject. It would be as foolish as it would be wicked. But the simple fact is that in the Japanese Empire we have a proud and ambitious race, fanatically devoted to a national ideal, courageous in battle, and highly equipped for war. This oriental race of splendid qualities has shown itself in recent years swift and ruthless in action, patient and resolute in carrying out a program of expansion. For the moment, its activities are directed to the continent of Asia. But there are necessities which cannot be fulfilled in China. The Japanese seek an outlet for their population. They cannot find it in China, already overcrowded, or in Manchuria, where the climate is unsuitable to their people. Where will they find it? They must look out, across the Pacific ocean. And what do they see as they look toward the rising sun, the symbol of their national flag? The beautiful seaboard of California.

It may be said that the Japanese will look rather to Australia. But an invasion of Australia would be a military enterprise fraught with immense perils. The tropical archipelago which separates Japan from Australia would be infested with mines, with submarines, and with other destructive craft. Japanese communications would be intolerably harassed. And besides, the British naval base at Singapore, with the Indian ocean behind it, would provide Britain with the necessary authority, so long as we did not abandon our naval domination.

An attack by the Japanese on the Pacific coast of the United States would certainly have to deal with a serious obstacle in Hawaii, although an attack on Pearl Harbor would not compare in danger with an assault on Singapore. And whereas a landing on the north coast of Australia would be a landing on an undeveloped tropical territory with a small population, and separated by deserts from the centers of Australian life, landing in California would not present such problems. California, moreover, has something which the Japanese want very badly and which they would not find in Australia—oil.

So far as the Pacific is concerned, then, it seems that the United States carries heavier liabilities than the British Empire. But there are other things to be borne in mind. Britain has assets of a positive character. She has the biggest merchant fleet in the world, valuable in itself and with an additional potential value as a source of splendid seamen in time of war. Her navy—on paper, equal to the navy of the United States—is in all probability more powerful in fact. Her air force is reported to be of the highest efficiency and is expanding swiftly at the present time—some say at the rate of more than a squadron a week. There are, in the British Empire, immense resources of raw materials and of industrial power, sufficient to equip, for a war of modern character, her millions of white people who, though peaceful, are not without courage.

If there were closer relations between the two nations, if there were an understanding, Britain would not come empty handed into the association. Indeed, it is obvious that she could contribute something of the highest value to the security of the United States, an understanding to protect the Atlantic seaboard of your country with her fleet. If America could concentrate her whole navy in the Pacific with the knowledge that her front door was barred and bolted by battleships flying the British flag, that would be a matter of great comfort to the American people in a moment of stress. And Britain has the resources, the ships, and the naval stations to confer this benefit.

II

It is quite true that there are liabilities as well as assets on the British balance sheet. One of these is of a serious character. As an island lying off the coast of the European continent, Britain has for centuries taken an interest in the affairs of the European peoples. We have fought in their wars, believing that our own safety was involved in the fortunes of one side or another in the conflict. It has for long been a basic doctrine of British policy that the mouth of the river Scheldt must not be in the hands of a great power. And, so slow are statesmen in awakening to changed circumstances, that some of them still fail to realize that the policy which was suitable for an island kingdom is quite out of place for an empire which spans the globe and contains vast dominions populated by vigorous and growing peoples.

Americans may argue that closer relations with Britain may involve the danger of entanglement in European wars. It is well understood that this would be too high a price to pay for the British association. For this reason those who desire most earnestly to advance towards an understanding with America are most determined and persistent in urging a policy of isolation upon Britain, a policy of detachment from European quarrels.

It is remarkable how slow a nation is to learn by bitter experience, how readily it forgets painful lessons. The Crimean war, so painful in its memories for the British people, sprang out of a situation similar to that with which we recently have had to deal in the war between Italy and Ethiopia. In that case, the British government egged on the Turks to defy

the power of Russia. Left to their own devices, the Turks would have submitted to the Russians in the trifling dispute which arose over the possession of the holy places in Palestine. But, with the might of Britain behind them, they chose to resist. In the end there came war, not only upon Turkey but upon Britain also—a long, weary, bloody war on which the nation looked with gloomy horror.

Yet there is no doubt about it: the Crimean war was, in the beginning, a popular war. The people favored it. A section of the newspapers demanded it. The mood of the people was expressed at a dinner held in the Reform Club when Admiral Sir Charles Napier, commander of a British fleet about to leave for the Baltic, said in public that he expected he would be able to declare war against Russia when he reached there. The audience greeted this with cheers and shouts of "Good old Charlie!" And when John Bright opposed the war he was looked upon as a base man guilty of unpatriotic actions.

We have not gone so far as that on this occasion. But we have had an English archbishop telling us that it may be necessary to have another great and horrible war to establish the efficacy of the League of Nations. "This generation or the next will probably have to be sacrificed," said the distinguished ecclesiastic.

But there is good reason to suppose that this is a passing mood of the people, not a fixed attitude. It has sprung up swiftly during the days of excitement, and generous, although misguided, emotion. The cause of "Little Abyssinia" appealed very much as the cause of the Cuban rebels did to the people of the United States forty years ago. And these storms of passion rarely, if ever, have influence in shaping permanent policy. The mood changes too swiftly. Certainly, the change in viewpoint is very marked compared with the situation we had in 1922. At that time I was able to take part in a movement which brought down the prime minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and destroyed his government. And what was the charge against him? What was the crime he had committed in the eyes of the public? Simply that he had threatened to use military sanctions against the Turks for an offense against a peace treaty, and, therefore, against the League. Every bit as glaring as the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

The growing strength of the isolation sentiment in the country will be sufficient to defeat any attempt to saddle Britain with a fixed commitment to take part in war on the continent of Europe. And, if there is any movement in the direction of the United States—a movement for which the American people can give the signal—it would inevitably be accompanied by a decision to turn away from Europe.

III

I have tried to establish my belief that in such close relations of the two peoples the balance of advantage would not be all on the one side. It would be an equal association of risks and benefits. By uniting our resources, we both gain a measure of security such as we can hardly hope to attain by any other means. Indeed, if we cannot work together, if we must conduct separately our preparations for defense in this troubled

world, then, of course, there will be an expenditure on arms, a concentration on military affairs, which our peoples would find irksome, and maybe intolerable. We are peaceable-minded folk; we wish to be left to mind our own business and contribute to the welfare of ourselves and our fellows. We hate war. We detest the compulsion and regimentation which is a characteristic of militarist societies. These things are alien to both of us.

Yet we face this situation. The dictator-ruled states are powerful and warlike, openly ambitious and predatory; they use a monopoly of information and the press in order to shape the minds of their populations and prepare the war-spirit. And therefore the democracies, standing alone, may have to choose between imitating the methods and emulating the armaments of the dictatorships, or, on the other hand, going down to defeat.

Is there any way out of this dilemma which faces us? Indeed there is. The way out of the dilemma is an association of the two great democracies, children respectively of the puritan revolution and the American revolution, which would offer us the prospect of security without the loss of the civilian freedom which we cherish, and which would enable us to look on the threatening ambitions of other nations without weighing ourselves down with a load of armaments.

And certainly this conception of closer relations does not rest on self-interest alone. It is based on the belief that there are bonds between the two peoples closer and stronger than those between any two free nations on earth. It is the presence of these bonds which argue most persuasively for the association which would be the surest guarantee of its success. We spring from the same racial stock. We speak the same language. We cherish the same religious ideas. If there are differences between the creeds and rites found in one country, these differences are repeated in the other. And, having inherited a common stock of traditions, we pursue the same ideals in politics, morals, and social life. Our life, as peoples, consists in the protection, the strengthening, and the spreading of those ideals. And the fact that we hold them in common offers us a reasonable confidence that a real basis of cooperation exists between us. Already it can be said that the relations between us are not conceived on the usual pattern of mutual distrust and envy which exist between two foreign nations. We are agreed at least in declaring that war between us is impossible. And this is not a mere commonplace. There are three thousand miles of undefended common frontier to give it reality.

I do not deny that there have been in the past misunderstandings between our two peoples, sometimes of a serious character. But on no occasion for many generations have these misunderstandings given rise, in the most pressing circumstances, to the fear of war between our nations. It is true that President Cleveland, in 1896, made use of the old, time-honored expedient of twisting the lion's tail over a boundary dispute in Venezuela. But what was the result? His political opponents at once charged him with attempting to make political capital at the expense of the national interest. Most of his supporters refused to follow him in such

expedients. The New York and other newspapers condemned him out of hand. Ministers of the gospel over the length and breadth of the land advised the President to pursue the paths of peace. But if fight he must, the preachers took the view that the cause of Armenia might be of more interest to the American people than boundary disputes in Venezuela. And, while jingoes sang the words of the national anthem, a cartoon which had given the public in an earlier campaign a representation of Mr. Cleveland joining in the demonstration with a variation of the sentiment by singing "My country, 'tis of me," was widely reproduced.

Only a few years had passed when Admiral Dewey, moving to the attack on Manila and pursued by German naval forces was protected by British warships under the command of Captain Chilchester. These British ships, ready for action, deliberately sailed into the path of the oncoming Germans, thus forming a rear-guard for the advancing American squadron.

Those pages of history are, I regret to say, not well known nor widely read on either side of the Atlantic. Nor is it realized in Britain or the United States that at the time of the War of Independence, the American cause was more popular in the city of London than in the city of New York, and that the American insurgents got support of more value in the house of commons at Westminster than in the Congress sitting in Philadelphia.

IV

That is the story of the past. What of the days to come?

The issues are graver now than they used to be. War brings with it not the danger of defeat, indemnity, loss of territory, but the possibility of complete devastation, destruction—it may be, the wiping out of whole populations. That is what we have to face. If science has made war so much more deadly and damaging, we should adjust our policies to the new situation. We should, if possible, double our insurance. And what better guarantee of the safety of ourselves and our children could we have than a broad understanding between our two nations, a resolve to walk in companionship?

In that association we should be unassailable, for no possible coalition of hostile nations could equal our strength. We should be free from external quarrels, since we do not harbor aggressive designs in any quarter of the globe. We should follow the rightful purposes of our peoples, free from the obsessions of war and able to devote ourselves to beneficial projects. We should be an example to the whole world of the advantages of a determined policy of peace. And in this we should realize, as we can do in no other way, the highest ideals of those Christian peoples, the United States and the British Empire.

These are some of the benefits which would flow from closer relations between the two nations, sundered for more than a hundred years, and now, I believe, destined to be reunited in a community of interest and of purpose.

ROUGH-HEW THEM HOW WE WILL

(Excerpts from an article by Walter Lippmann in Foreign Affairs, volume 15, pages 587-594, July, 1937.)

In the light of the discussion that preceded the adoption of the neutrality act of 1937, it might well be said that

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.

The new law is the outcome of a prolonged agitation conducted by men who believe that President Wilson's intervention in the World War was a ghastly mistake. They have held that no great national interest was served by the American intervention, and that the country was drawn into the war by a blundering and unneutral diplomacy, by the machinations of war profiteers, and by the insidious efficiency of the British propaganda. This thesis was developed in a senatorial investigation in which public opinion was prepared for legislation on American neutrality. In that investigation the archives were ransacked in a determination to prove that from 1914 to 1917 the American people were bamboozled and seduced into declaring war because they had become financially, economically and morally entangled with the British Empire.

The avowed object of the new law is to prevent another such entanglement if the great war breaks out again. Yet the heart of the act is a provision which means that if Britain is again at war with Germany, only Britain and her allies will be able to supply themselves in the American market. Moreover, the senators who are most thoroughly convinced that Mr. Wilson was entangled with Great Britain are the very ones who insisted most energetically that no American goods should be sold to a belligerent unless he pays cash and carries the goods away in his own ships. Many of them voted against the bill on the ground that it did not make the cash-and-carry principle mandatory. Now, obviously, if the World War is renewed, it is Britain and her allies who will have the cash and the capacity to carry. They are the rich nations. They control the gold production of the world. They possess most of the gold that is not already in this country. They have large foreign investments that are convertible into gold or its equivalent. They own or can charter merchant ships, and they are the masters of the Atlantic highways over which American goods would have to be carried to Europe. Germany and Italy are obviously short of cash, and even if they could buy American goods they could not carry them across the Atlantic. They are excluded from the American market in war time almost as effectively as if the American navy supported the allied blockade.

The new law was enacted under the sponsorship of President Wilson's critics. They believe that we were drawn into the World War because President Wilson permitted the war trade with Britain and did not effectively protect a war trade with Germany; yet they have enacted a law which in 1914 would have made it impossible for Americans to trade with any belligerent not under the protection of British sea power. Insisting that Mr. Wilson was unneutral because he did not break the British

blockade of Germany, they have celebrated the twentieth anniversary of his mistake by imposing what is in effect an embargo against war trade with Germany and by establishing what is in essence an economic alliance with Britain and her partners.

Today, as twenty years ago, the American nation finds itself acting contrary to its explicit intentions. It would seem that somehow the logic of our conscious minds is not the logic that determines our behavior, and so, if we are to become aware of our real relationship to the outer world, we must reexamine the theory on which we think we are acting.

The springs of our conscious theory are manifestly those of a people who have escaped from the bondage of Egypt and have entered the promised land. Because the American people are the descendants of emigrants from Europe, they define their freedom as isolation from the historic passions of their European ancestors. That this is the motive of the American isolationist philosophy is evident; for we do not invoke it with anything like the same determination in our relations with Asia or with South America. The entanglement that Americans resist is entanglement with Europe. What they really fear is not the costs of intervention in the quarrels of Europe but the intrusion of European quarrels into American affairs. Because political action in Europe divides the nation at home, the instinctive feeling of almost all Americans is to keep Europe at arm's length.

This feeling is a reflection of the historic fact that the American nation is still in the making, and that, as compared with the ten centuries of common experience in which the English nation has been fused, our one century and a half is a very short time indeed in which to solidify a nation. Among millions of American citizens ancestral ties are still strong, and every European quarrel puts American nationality under a severe strain. Thus we can confront the Asiatic peoples and the Latin Americans with a secure sense of national unity. But our dealings with European nations instantly raise issues which divide us at home.

For that reason it is not true to say that the philosophy of isolation is the selfishness and timidity of a people blessed with geographical security. The philosophy of isolation has its roots in the protective instincts of a people who cannot hope to fuse as a nation if they are not secure against the decisive passions of their European ancestors. The crucial problem of our foreign policy is how the American nation can satisfy this need for isolation from Europe within the circumstances of the actual world.

The traditional theory of American isolation is, of course, a rational effort to express the American need for isolation in terms of law and policy. But though the need is as great as ever it was, the traditional law and policies in which it is applied have proved unworkable in the past twenty-five years. We know that from Wilson's failure to stay out of the World War; we know it again from the action of the present Congress in renouncing the entire traditional conception of American neutrality. Something must be wrong with that conception, and we may well ask ourselves what is wrong with it.

The traditional conception is that the United States can remain isolated from the quarrels of Europe by adhering strictly to the interpetation made by American jurists of the rules of international law that have been developed over a period of three hundred years. Professor Edwin Borchard is a learned and persuasive supporter of this view. He holds that the idea of neutrality is one of the great achievements of modern civilization and that we have been fools once, and will be fools again, not to make it the principle of our policy. He insists that the true neutral does not care who wins the war. As John Quincy Adams put it, the neutral "avoids all consideration of the merits of the contest." The right formula, says Mr. Borchard, is "two nations at war, and a third in friendship with both."

That the formula fits perfectly the psychological needs of the American people is evident, and when there is no actual war in progress almost all Americans think they would like to follow it. Yet they did not follow it in the World War. They have just decided not to follow it if there is another world war. So while it may be that Professor Borchard is right and that we are badly advised to reject his advice, it may also be that his theory did not and does not work because he has misconceived the true character of modern great wars, and that the American people do not follow his teaching because they are unable to follow it.

My own view is that analysis will show that the traditional conception of neutrality is inapplicable to a great war, that is to say, to a war fought not for a limited objective in a localized area but for supremacy of power over the larger part of the earth's surface. The neutral who is "in friendship with both" nations at war must believe that it makes no vital difference to him whether one or the other wins the war. In respect to all sorts of small wars, it is easily possible to be neutral in this sense. The question is whether a principle which applies to a war between Bolivia and Paraguay is also valid in a war for the mastery of the world.

In seeking the answer to that question we must, I think, note at the outset that the idea of neutrality, as expounded by Professor Borchard, implies one of two assumptions. Either the neutrals are decisively more powerful than the belligerents or the neutrals are so delicately poised between the belligerents that they hold the balance of power. If the neutrals are greater powers than the belligerents they can, of course, localize the war. If they hold the balance of power, neither belligerent may dare to invade their neutrality. In both cases the circumstance which makes neutrality possible is the power of the neutral. For all neutrals are potential Belgiums when they lack the power to enforce their neutrality.

Now the theory of neutrality which crystallized in American minds during the nineteenth century was entertained in a world in which Great Britain exercised unchallenged supremacy over the principal maritime highways. It was assumed that in time of war Britain would be mistress of the seas, that her fleet would successfully bottle up the war in a relatively small area, and that beyond this war zone the maritime highways would be peacefully under British control. The theoretical questions raised by Americans against British maritime supremacy were essentially

concerned with the attempt to persuade Great Britain to relax somewhat her mastery of the seas, to exercise her dominion with a little more freedom for American commerce. But underneath all the controversies, the predominance of British sea power was not challenged. On the contrary it was tacitly assumed. The international world in which the American nation matured and conceived its national policy was a world in which Britain controlled the seas.

It was in such a world that we formulated and practiced the philosophy of isolation. The invisible, the unexamined and unrecognized premise of American isolation has always been an international system in which naval power in British hands is predominant over all other military power. Our own foreign policy was fixed upon the assumption of that international system, and presupposes that system. Mr. Borchard's neutrality is a suitable policy within the framework of that international system. The whole conception of isolation, the inner meaning of self-determination among peoples, presupposes an international power so great that it can restrain all military conquerors. Such an international system existed in the century between Waterloo and the Marne, and all our preconceptions about world politics implicitly assume the continuation of some such system.

Thus when Americans speak of isolation and of being indifferent to the outcome of European wars they have already taken it for granted that there exists a power great enough to localize wars of aggression. In this situation the concept of neutrality can be made to work. But the concept itself rests on a deeper premise, on the tacit and unrealized assumption that the world as a whole will remain orderly under the final authority of sea power controlled by men who on the whole believe in the supremacy of law and in government by consent of the governed. Once that assumption is upset, once this pivotal organization of human power is seriously disrupted, the basis of neutrality and of isolation is destroyed. A fatal blow struck at the heart of the British power would not merely destroy the international unity of the empire; it would mean the destruction of all international order as we have known it.

We have only to imagine our own position if the British supremacy were to collapse under an attack by Germany in the north Atlantic, by Italy in the Mediterranean, by Japan in the western Pacific. Could we conceivably be indifferent to such a world-shaking catastrophe as that? With whom would we then discuss amiably the ideal of naval parity? Would it be possible for us not to care about how the innumerable fragments of that great political organization were disposed of? We could not be indifferent. All that is familiar and taken for granted, like the air we breathe, would suddenly be drastically altered. A thousand relations to all parts of the world, so well established that we forget they exist, would suddenly be broken. The disruption of Austria-Hungary has changed the face of European politics. The disruption of the British Empire would have consequences so incomparably much greater that we cannot really imagine them. One might as well have asked a citizen of

Rome in the time of Augustus to imagine Europe when the Roman power had disentegrated.

Thus, though no doubt it is written in the book of fate that Britain will no longer carry on alone the authority she exercised in the nineteenth century, it is also written in that book that our civilization is doomed to another dark age unless that authority can be perpetuated by peoples who intend to live by the same political tradition. There is no alternative—except a century or more of wars fought savagely and indecisively by peoples contending for world supremacy. Whether the power that Britain exercised in the nineteenth century is to be perpetuated through Geneva is a relatively minor question. The great question is whether a nation placed as we are, and desiring above all else to live and let live, can preserve its isolation if there is no power in the world which preserves the order of the world.

The answer to that question is, I am convinced, that we can and that we will stand aside only as long as we feel that there is no fatal challenge to the central power which makes for order in our world. Our unconscious wisdom is the deposit of a century of experience. In that century of American isolation an organic and inseverable connection was formed between the life of the American nation and an international order held together through supreme authority exercised by men who in great matters think as we do. We cannot break that connection. We could not break it in 1917. We have declared that we cannot break it in 1937. We shall not break it. In the final test, no matter what we wish now or now believe, though collaboration with Britain and her allies is difficult and often irritating, we shall protect that connection because in no other way can we fulfill our destiny.

BRITAIN'S PROBLEM AND OURS

(Excerpt from an article by Harold Callender in the New York Times, volume 87, section 8, pages 3, 23, January 16, 1938.)

On both sides of the Atlantic the forthcoming Anglo-American trade agreement has been endowed with vast potentialities. Some hope it will lead to increasing teamwork between Britain and the United States in stabilizing currencies, reviving trade and thus reinforcing peace. Some conceive that common action by the two powers might go so far as to make good the failure of the League of Nations by restoring order in international relations and restraining aggression.

Signor Mussolini seems to suspect that may be their aim, for he accuses the rich democracies of desiring to strangle "poorer peoples" by economic pressure; while his "comrades" in Berlin (as he calls them) express a similar view and imagine Britain and America forming a kind of alliance against the dictatorial states. Such a conception of Anglo-American intimacy is not new on the continent, where Britain and the United States have long been suspected of some occult and surreptitious understanding.

Most British and Americans probably would say that Anglo-American relations had revealed far more disagreements than agreements; that the

slow progress of the trade treaty, already discussed for a full year, was characteristic; that one of the most difficult things imaginable was to induce a British and an American government to act together anywhere or for any purpose. But continentals refuse to believe it.

One reason why official collaboration between the two English-speaking powers is so hard to achieve is that, although in the last century America has become less and less British and "Anglo-Saxon", she and Britain are much alike in some respects. These similarities are especially conspicuous in the field of foreign policy.

Here more than in domestic affairs their common habit of trusting to hunches and inspirations of the moment is plainly visible. Both countries are pragmatic in the sense that they prefer to improvise from day to day rather than to follow a deliberately planned course of action. Both are disposed to cross bridges when they reach them, without even making sure the bridges will be there. The British boast of their traditional luck in "muddling through" by intuition rather than by plan. The Americans do not boast of it but, at least in foreign affairs, they follow the same practice.

Harold Nicolson, in discussing foreign policy, recently referred to "the congenital inability of our race to distinguish between their feelings and their thoughts." Whether or not this is a racial characteristic, it is one that is likewise discernible in Americans, whose attitude toward foreign affairs is dominated by a desire to keep out of war which is unaccompanied as yet by any precise or generally accepted scheme for doing so.

Both countries are democratic, which means that foreign policy must take account of public opinion and may be hampered and confused by divergence of views and conflicting impulses. Foreign affairs are subject to constant discussion, and the actions of the government to free criticism. There is no way in peace time in which the government can silence opposition and mobilize the people by propaganda in the totalitarian fashion.

Both are wealthy nations which have long since finished their expansion and covet nobody's territory. Both consequently have what may be called a vested interest in peace, for they stand to lose far more than they would gain by war. Both are more impressed than are the less rich and less expanded countries by the tremendously increased risks for civilized life and social order which modern mechanized war involves. For this reason, and also because they possess vast supplies of essential raw materials, notably minerals, both are attracted by the possibility of utilizing economic pressure as a substitute for military or naval force.

Neither Britain nor America has land frontiers which are menaced by powerful neighbors. Consequently neither has a large standing army, and both consider great navies beneficent instruments of order and peace, while they regard conscript armies as sources of militarism and temptations to aggression. Both have long felt fairly secure in comparative physical isolation under protection of their fleets, and both find it difficult wholly to appreciate the nervousness of continental nations separated by no natural barriers from rival powers whom history has taught them to distrust. Frequent allusions to the unfortified Canadian boundary—where

conditions are completely different from those in Europe—reveal the lack of comprehension with which many Americans contemplate European problems.

Britons and Americans alike are prone to look upon the continent of Europe as a community of eternally bickering states, torn by innumerable quarrels, so obsessed by the past as to be incapable of taking a sane view of the present. Both British and Americans would like to cut loose from Europe and its heritage of discord. But Britain is too close, and some suspect that is true of the United States also. Isolation has been urged in both countries, but few in Britain believe their country could remain outside a major European war, and many Americans are beginning to doubt whether the United States could do so. In both countries there is now a pronounced disposition to seek peace not in isolation from war but in prevention of war; but neither is yet quite sure how that is to be done.

In other words, neither has a very clear or fixed foreign policy, since neither is accustomed to looking far ahead or to solving hypothetical problems before they arise. Each has been inclined to wait until war broke out and then to decide what to do about it. But in present circumstances, many believe, the "muddling through" method merely plays into the hands of aggressive states—who have taken full advantage of it in recent years.

If British foreign policy is "necessarily somewhat vague", as Grey put it, this is principally because Britain's national and imperial interests are so extensive geographically that they severely tax her defensive resources. She can rarely concentrate her fleet or air force at a single point, for there are too many exposed spots where trouble may start if surveillance is relaxed. She must always balance one interest against another and often is compelled to choose which she will defend and which risk, for she can hardly defend all at once.

If she fails to resist a Mussolini in the Mediterranean, it is largely because she must keep her eye on a Hitler on the Rhine and a Japan on the continent of Asia. If she seems strangely considerate of Japan, as in 1932 and again in 1937, it is because both the Mediterranean and the North Sea need watching and she dare not diminish her squadrons there in order to strengthen them in the orient. The main reason for the German-Italian-Japanese pact was the irresistible temptation to profit by the embarrassing vulnerability of British interests and to draw attention to the possibility of their being threatened in three widely separated areas at once, a possibility of which the British are keenly conscious.

Thus Britain cannot pursue a given policy in Europe, much less assume military commitments there, without taking into account the effects upon her empire and its sea highways. Nor can she act in Asia until she can feel sure that all will remain quiet on the western front. This multiplicity of interests, arising from responsibility for an unwieldly imperial domain which naval power renders less secure than it once did, explains the hesitations and makeshifts and concessions which cause British policy to seem weak and confused.

The uncertainty of American policy has other causes. America's interests are far less widely dispersed. Her territory is mostly on a single continent and relatively easy to defend in comparison with Britain's. She has no close or obvious enemies, no trio of powers leagued to harass her, no aerial menace such as that which London prepares to resist, no submarine menace like that which might drive British shipping from the Mediterranean.

America's foreign problem arises not from imminent danger but from a conflict of impulses, or a conflict between tradition and the exigencies of the present and future. Tradition bids her hold aloof from other continents and leads her to hope she can isolate herself from the violence that has alarmed Europe and Asia. So she has her neutrality law, which knows no aggressors but only belligerents. But many Americans, including the President, believe that neutrality is not enough and that the United States should take some positive action in concert with peaceful powers to discourage aggression.

The totalitarians have banded together not against communism, but in order jointly to deal with not to say to bully, Britain; and in doing so they have threatened American interests (at least the American interest in peace). President Roosevelt has clearly pointed out that if their lawlessness continued the United States could not remain unaffected. Japan's behavior in China under encouragement of her pact with Germany and Italy reinforces this warning and shows the close connection between the dictators' policies in Europe and their partner's defiant course in the east.

The great democracies, by common action, might exert a tremendous moral effect and so deter these lawless impulses. But first they must overcome the impression of weakness and division which their own past policies have created. They must persuade the dictators that they are no longer bluffing or merely denouncing and deploring. Condemnations alone, whether in Geneva, Brussels, or Washington, have lost whatever efficacy they might once have had. More than that is needed. That is why Britain has rearmed. That is why a strong democratic front seems necessary.

The two English-speaking powers are to some extent in the same boat. America is less directly menaced than Britain, but, like Britain, she has an interest in order and peace and is becoming increasingly aware of the uncomfortable unity of the modern world. The British, and even French, are tempted to purchase peace by conceding Germany's claim to expand in central Europe; and the efforts of the democracies would probably be not to prevent that expansion but to prevent its threatening the peace. Expansion, by Germany or other powers, in defiance of weak democracies would be one thing; expansion by agreement with powerful democracies capable of defending themselves would be another.

The common interests of the democratic nations fail to impress many Americans who are suspicious of Britain, and fail to impress those Britons

who flirt with fascism and back Franco in Spain at the risk of British strategic interests. Neither country is united in foreign affairs, and the divergence of view handicaps foreign policy. Yet the prestige and influence of each is dependent upon that of the other, and in a sense the security of each is vital to the other.

America has been able to enjoy her comparative isolation for so long because the British rule of the seas contributed to her safety. America is willing that Britain should share sea power with her; but if Britain were defeated in a war, America would feel less secure, for Germans, Italians, and Japanese might aspire to dominate the seas. With them America would not be so ready to accept naval parity.

As long as the British fleet maintains its position, that problem does not arise for America. Hence it may be said that the preservation of the British Empire and of British naval power has become a vital American interest. For if the empire should break up, America's defense problem would be infinitely greater. A distinguished senator, famous for his isolationist views, said to this writer that the collapse of the British Empire would bring chaos from which America would suffer.

It is for this reason, and not from altruism, that many Americans believe that joint action with Britain to prevent war is advisable.

Britain, they say, is the first line of defense of the democratic world; and if that line should break, America's security would be diminished. Britain would gain encouragement and influence from more positive American support, particularly if America and with her the democratic world were not weakened by another economic slump.

But much depends upon British policy. American collaboration with the British democracy would not be facilitated if British official action, as in Spain, should seem to be pro-fascist. Britain can hardly expect American help in defense of democracy if she herself lets democracy down. On the other hand, American support would make such compromises less necessary and less likely, because it would strengthen Britain's hand.

As mechanical advance diminishes distances, the defense of Britain may tend to become as important for America as the defense of France now is for Britain. There seems little doubt that Britain and the United States would act together in an emergency. The question is whether, and to what extent, they will act together in advance of an emergency. Their interests, while not identical, are similar. Their understanding of each other probably is greater today than ever before. And whatever doubts they may have as to the need of collaboration are being rapidly removed by the European dictators and their friend, Japan.

WHY NOT A LONDON—WASHINGTON AXIS?

(Excerpts from an article by Alfred Edwards, M. P., in the Christian Science Monitor, volume 30, pages 1-2, 13, weekly magazine section, June 8, 1938.)

Many people believe that humanity would be served by a union of English-speaking people with a view to leading the world out of enmity and chaos, and into order and good will.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that a good example is the best of arguments and the conference between representatives of London and Washington now proceeding to investigate a basis for a sound trade agreement is one of the most promising signs of our times.

Whether this be regarded as a part of the divine plan, as an economic necessity, or as just plain common sense, it meets the need of the moment by setting an example of good will.

There can be neither peace nor plenty while there are barriers. The two great English-speaking peoples have already set their hands and hearts to the breaking down of barriers. It was to this end, too, that Van Zeeland directed the attention of the nations which had invited him to make a tour of investigation.

There are no serious differences in any part of the world which are not primarily fundamentally economic. If the two English-speaking nations can demonstrate to the world their willingness to consider each other's essential needs and meet them they will inevitably draw other nations to unite with them in some kind of friendly cooperation.

In this effort to solve the economic problems of others will be found the seed of a world industrial fellowship. The cosmos of economic stability will then quickly supplant the present chaos begotten of self-interest and hate.

If the English-speaking peoples desire peace above all else, they can establish and maintain it.

Britain and the United States are not looked upon as potential aggressors. They have more land between them than can properly be managed (the British Empire alone embraces one quarter of the earth's surface), and are not suspected of any land-grabbing designs.

The English-speaking peoples are more wealthy than all the rest of the world put together—more wealthy than ever before. America is so wealthy that she is burying her money down in Kentucky and pretending that she hasn't got it. "Sterilizing gold," the experts call it. In naval strength, Britain and the United States together are more powerful than all the navies of the world combined; and it may well be that naval strength will eventually be the deciding factor in world peace.

Anyone of my readers who will put himself (momentarily, of course) in the position of any potentially aggressive dictator will, I think, at once agree that he would give anything to separate the English-speaking peoples. He could, no doubt, without difficulty, bring about a combination of power which might conceivably defeat the navy of either one of those

countries; but it is inconceivable that any combination could be made which would be capable of defeating their combined navies; moreover, the united producing capacity of the two nations could leave the whole world standing still.

Then there is the supremely important consideration of raw materials, without which no war can possibly be waged. There are something like 22 varieties which are quite indispensable; and of these Great Britain has an adequate supply of 18, and America has 12. Japan has only 4, and no other country has more than 4; while it is doubtful if Italy has an adequate supply of any of them—she is utterly dependent upon other nations to supply her means of warfare. Why—unless we make her otherwise—Italy is no more of a menace to peace than a Boy Scout patrol.

Japan is at present carrying on a conflict in China with materials supplied very largely by England and America. Who, then, is the criminal? Without assistance from the English-speaking peoples, Japan could not carry on a war for any appreciable length of time. More than 60% of her exports are bought by us, and with the money she buys her raw materials and armaments.

We cannot have peace on the cheap. We must make sacrifices for peace, and if we are prepared to make those sacrifices we can establish and maintain peace. Our choice lies between voluntary fruitful sacrifices for peace, and compulsory—and worse than fruitless—sacrifices for war.

America is, of course, under no obligation to regard the covenant of the League of Nations as binding; but it is worth remembering that America has taken the initiative in every world crisis. To her credit, she pleaded with Britain to take joint action with her in stopping Japan's invasion of Manchuria. At that time America had her own representative sitting on the council of the League of Nations. In the aggression against Ethiopia by Italy, America again took the initiative and vainly offered to stop oil going to the Italians.

In the course of the very enjoyable lecture tour in the United States, which I have recently concluded, I was asked by an interviewer "What about the League? Will it survive? Is it going to do any good?" I replied, "Well, the child which you left on our doorsteps is thriving and doing well, and we will look after it until you come and claim it."

It's only fair, after all, to remember that if we are now persuading America to come into our league, it was she who first persuaded us—rather reluctant as we were—to come into hers.

And now, what about that war debt? I hardly like to mention it, but the simple fact is that England has never repudiated its war debt to America. Yet nothing has been more misused by the ignorant, and those seeking to foster misunderstanding, than has that assertion.

A pardonable resentment would, of course, be felt if it were true that large sums of money had been loaned to us when we were in need and that, when prosperity had returned as the result of a peace secured by American intervention, we had refused to pay those loans.

Disappointing though it may be to those propagandists of international hate and anti-British sentiment who have persistently fostered this delusion, the simple fact remains that the United States never did lend Britain any money. In what was called the "war debt," money was not sent: we were loaned armaments and materials. Some will say, "Well, that was as good as money." Very good.

When the war was over, we were anxious to return something just as good as money. Did your financiers, industrialists, and economists hail us as good, honorable people for so promptly striving to honor our debt? Did they say, "There is an honest debtor. See how promptly he demonstrates his gratitude by offering to ship back the goods?" Not on your life. They said, "You'll not send your goods here—we don't want them" —and they were perhaps wise. Such a course would have kept our men and factories busy, and yours idle.

But mark the fact that it was you who refused to accept, and not we who refused to pay. Some will say, "You hired the money, didn't you? —well, pay back the money"—and just here is the difficulty with the man in the street. By money he means something he can spend. We could easily pay something you could spend in England; but that is exactly what you refuse—you want something you can spend in America. Before we can send you that we need to buy American currency, and we can do that only if you buy English goods. We could, of course, send gold—but you already have so much gold buried in Kentucky that you can't really want more from us to bury with it.

Already we are buying twice as much from you as you buy from us; which means that we pay for our purchases 50% in goods and 50% in gold. To send more gold would upset world currencies and defeat the only purpose for which gold was adopted as a standard. Our two governments are trying to stabilize currencies by the use of gold and the purchase of each other's currency. You already have most of the world's gold, and if we were to beg, borrow, or steal all the gold outside of America, it would hardly be enough to settle the debt. So, if you do not want and could not have gold, in what other way would you like the debt to be paid? You will try in vain to find another way. Popular journalists write and statesmen talk in the most inane way of this issue—without any real appreciation of the facts. Goods or gold are the only alternatives; and goods it must be, as your secretary, Mr. Cordell Hull, realizes. He is willing now to discuss the question on that basis.

It is true that I have had some brilliant alternatives suggested at some of my meetings. One youth, for instance, thought that we might make payment by ceding territory. I replied that that seemed a good idea, and asked him what territory he would like. "How about Canada?" he replied. My rejoinder that that would be quite O. K. with me if it were O. K. with Canada brought laughter from the audience which doubtless had an echo across the border.

Another suggestion was that we might pay by sending battleships, and the audience seemed to agree that the language of your armament manu-

facturers would be unprintable if we attempted to do anything of the kind.

Leaving the war debt issue at that, let me pass on to discuss how best we may use the vast power of our two great nations. Certainly not threateningly, not arrogantly. We must not delude ourselves that we English-speaking people enjoy any God-bestowed superiority to other nations. That notion, obviously absurd as it is, dies hard. George Bernard Shaw, in his play, "St. Joan", tilts at it, with that incisive wit which has punctured so many self-important little balloons, when he puts into the mouth of the impatient little English priest who is clamoring for Joan's condemnation, these words—"What more evidence can you need? The girl swears she has heard the voice of God—and she doesn't understand a word of English."

I would say to the aggressors and the war makers, "We shall use the immense superiority of power in our hands, if need be, in self-defense—in defense of democracy—in defense of small nations." That is the only sure way of keeping out of war. To say, or let it appear, that we are not willing to fight in any circumstances is the sure way of being dragged into war. A bully never hits a man his own size; but, if the other big fellows stand aside and let him, he will take advantage of the little fellows.

I remember once being asked while crossing the Atlantic with him, how I would like to give Max Baer a sock on the jaw, and I replied that it would be great fun, if I could be sure that Max wouldn't hit back. But, of course, I knew he would, so I didn't experiment.

If we allow the bullies of the world to think that we will not fight, then they'll just beat up one small nation after another. So why not say plainly to them, "We shall stop you if you go on like this—no matter how just your claims may be—because we cannot afford to allow gangster methods which will eventually be used against ourselves. Stop arming and we will stop arming. We will guarantee you justice, but you simply cannot be the judge of your own case. Neither will we be your judge; we will have all claims submitted to an international tribunal, and will impartially support the findings of that tribunal, whatever they may be."

ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION AS THE BASIS FOR WORLD ORDER

(Excerpts from an article by Pennington Haile in the Twelfth Annual Debate Handbook, 1938-39, edited by Bower Aly, volume 1, pages 69-88.)

For centuries the peace of Europe, in fact of the entire civilized world, was kept by the Pax Romana. During this entire period the Roman Empire through its incomparable strength and organization was able to keep this large area at peace through using its forces in large measure in the way of a world police. Since the collapse of the Roman Empire there never has been as long a period of peace and order as the world enjoyed under its sway. Of course it is obvious that a free association of nations to keep the peace is better than the imposition of an enforced peace upon the world by any one power or group of powers. Nevertheless preser-

vation of civilization is today dependent upon the maintenance of peace, and it is for this reason that I feel that an outright alliance between the United States and Great Britain is immediately advisable. Such an alliance by the incomparable power which these two nations could wield together could enforce, if necessary, a new Pax Romana upon the world. Of course it may be objected at once that we have not a fair parallel here, since in the days of the Roman Empire its potential adversaries lacked effective means of thwarting its power. Let us therefore consider what the resources of Britain and the United States would be if these two nations were outright allied. In the first place Britain and the United States together control 50 or more per cent of the majority of the world's important raw materials. Together these two nations control 60% of the world's coal, 65% of its lead, 20% of its nitrates, 75% of its cotton, 30% of its aluminum, 50% of its zinc, and 55% of its wool. The United States controls 40% of iron ore production and 70% of petroleum; Great Britain, 50% of rubber. (Percentage based on chart by Brooks Emeny in "The Price of Peace.") It can easily be seen from these figures that an alliance between the United States and Great Britain would mean that their combined power would be tremendous as far as controlling the world's important raw materials is concerned. In considering the strength of such an alliance military and naval, although neither Britain nor the United States has a standing army comparable to that of many other countries, their combined naval and air forces would be great and within a few years (upon the completion of present armament programs) would be tremendous. No other nation could possibly muster a force by sea or air comparable to the combined force of Britain and the United States. Even a combination of two or three nations would find itself at a serious disadvantage.

It is unfortunate to have to talk of the possibility of needing such incomparable superiority in arms for preserving world peace. Yet if we are realistic we must see that the disintegration of world relations has proceeded to such a point that it will be idle to exclude such a possibility. Furthermore, it is well to remember here that within recent months it has been proved on several occasions that a firm declaration backed up by adequate potential strength seems to be the only means of effectively checking the policies of aggressive states. In September, 1937, Britain and France put an end to the torpedoing of merchant ships in the Mediterranean by submarines. They did so by the declaration of Nyon in which they stated that their combined naval forces had been instructed to fire upon any such submarines. In June, 1938, the repeated bombings from the air of merchant vessels carrying supplies to the Spanish loyalists would certainly have ceased if a similar firm position had been taken. The aggressive states may have reason to feel from their own point of view that they can only effect change by force. Nevertheless it is necessary to impress upon them that change by force will be resisted by force if necessary. If that is clearly understood there is little if any danger of force actually being used.

I have already mentioned that in the opinion of many experts if Germany had known in 1914 that by following a certain line of action she would find herself at war not only with Great Britain but with the United States as well, she would not have followed that line of action. Quite recently, in May, 1938, Germany was apparently on the point of making a move against Czechoslovakia. The fact that she did not make such a move at the time was probably because she feared not only the resistance of Czechoslovakia itself, but the combined resistance of France, Britain, and Russia. Such a combination she could not possibly hope to cope with successfully. The implication here is perfectly clear. Only the knowledge that collective force will oppose aggression to its ultimate defeat will deter a strong and powerful nation from attempting such aggression. It is for these reasons that an Anglo-American alliance would do more to stabilize international relations than anything else possible in the world today.

An alliance between Great Britain and the United States could be a dangerous factor or a most constructive one depending upon the form it might take and the aims it might have in mind. Were it to be directed merely toward maintaining the present status of world affairs it could block necessary change and act as a cause of recurrent disturbance. If it did this it would merely intensify certain tendencies which the present League of Nations has undoubtedly at times manifested. As I have said already, the League of Nations has not always shown sufficient wisdom in making changes by peaceful means in time to present their accomplishment by force. If an alliance between Britain and the United States resulted in a refusal to listen to just claims of other nations, it would merely perpetuate this unfortunate tendency.

If, however, Britain and the United States have sufficient wisdom and a sufficiently long range view to act together, not as a static, but as a dynamic force in world affairs, their association in an alliance would be most constructive. Have we reason to suppose that they would have sufficient wisdom to do so? We cannot of course be sure. British policy certainly can often be accused of selfishness and short-sightedness. Nevertheless, I expect it to be true that public opinion in our country and in Britain is on the whole more fair-minded and more intelligent than in most other countries. In Britain, for instance, there is a strong movement for recognition of the justice of the firm demand for restitution to Germany of certain of her colonial areas. In our own country there has been in the last few years a definite tendency away from imperialistic policies. This has shown itself in our decision to grant independence to the Philippines and in our greatly improved relations with Central and South American nations. In this connection it should be mentioned that the Pan-American relations are most definitely tending in the direction of a sort of American League of Nations based fairly and squarely upon the principle of collective security. These are encouraging indications.

There is a growing realization in the world today, especially I think in Britain and the United States, that while there must be change such change must not be effected by force and violence. These two fundamental realizations are complementary to each other. At the Chatham

House discussion held in London, March, 1935, there was prolonged discussion of such questions as the following: "Are the peaceful changing of the law and the effective influences of the law correlative more to each other so that you cannot have one without the other? And is the alternative to the system of society, which a combination of the two forces establishes, violent change, a process most important to ban?" These discussions which were participated in by some of the best minds of Great Britain and America led definitely to the conclusion that both these questions should be answered in the affirmative. You cannot possibly have peaceful change unless you have a society of nations sufficiently organized to see to it that change through other than peaceful means does not occur. Correlatively you cannot have a society of nations so organized unless at the same time it permits change through peaceful means. I think that there is sufficient realization of these truths among the people of Britain and the United States so that any alliance between their countries would be in the main directed toward the growth and development of peaceful change and opposition to change by force.

The dream of an organized world, of a true society of nations from which the ever-increasing horror and brutality of war can be permamently excluded is no new thing. It has haunted the dreams of philosophers and statesmen for centuries. It has fired the enthusiasm of youth and has tempered the sophisticated disillusionment of age. By implication it has been in existence since orderly government was first established in the city-states of ancient Greece. Man, as a rational being, cannot rest from his task of imposing law and order upon violence and disorder until organization for peace extends over the entire earth. At present the greatest examples of the power of federation and cooperation are the United States of America and the British Commonwealth of Nations. By our common heritage, by our similarity of ideals, they are suited for a close alliance. By their unrivaled potential efficiency in imposing order upon the world by a combination of their forces, they more than any other nations must bear the blame if they fail to do so. By their innate democracy and fairmindedness they are perhaps better qualified for the obvious challenge of leadership than are other nations. They must do it with courage and they must do it with wisdom as well. An alliance with Great Britain and the United States should be regarded as a first and necessary step toward an orderly world. It should, therefore, not exclude the possibility of being augmented by the adherence of other nations. In other words, such an alliance while bilateral at first should develop into a multilateral system. If other nations were convicted that the United States and Great Britain in combination not only had insuperable force, but also a clear determination to be just and fair they would soon be willing to join in the efforts for maintaining peace in the world. It is therefore probable that such an Anglo-American alliance would serve as the basis for a revised League of Nations which would become in truth a new commonwealth of the world.

These are the reasons then why I support the proposition for an alliance between the United States and Great Britain. It is not that I champion

the principle of military alliance. It is despite the fact that I dislike the idea of a balance of power. It is because I am realistic enough to see that collective security cannot, under present conditions, maintain world peace. It is because I believe, nevertheless, that collective security is all we have upon which to base a rational and constructive scheme for peace. I know that because of the mistakes, the selfishness, the blunders which have warped international relations in the post war period we must make a fresh start. I believe that the vision of an orderly world in which mankind does not have to live in the awful fear of destruction by his own iniquitous cunning must be established.

I see no other way to do this at present than by a combination of the economic, political and military resources of the two most powerful nations. I believe that the risk in doing this is far less than the risk in doing anything else. Isolation, as the basis of the foreign policy of the United States has never served us and cannot serve us now. We are an integral part of an interdependent world. We shall have prosperity and peace only if the world prospers and is peaceful. It is, therefore, not only because I wish for world peace but because I know that my country cannot have peace in such a world as exists today that I uphold the project for an alliance between this country and Great Britain.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN FRONT

(Excerpts from an article by D. Graham Hutton in the Christian Science Monitor, volume 29, pages 1-2, 16, weekly magazine section, November 10, 1937.)

It is a well known characteristic of Anglo-Saxons never to commit themselves in advance; to leave a lot to "events" in the sure and certain hope of "muddling through." This policy has this disadvantage: it leaves to bolder, often more brutal, minds the control of events themselves. Then a situation is provoked in which Anglo-Saxons suddenly become adamant. The brutal minds are placed in a vicious dilemma. They denounce the Anglo-Saxon "irresponsibility"; present an ultimatum; refuse to believe their senses; and then a war is the result. "If only these incalculable effete Anglo-Saxons had said at what point they would make a stand," they complain, "we should have never bluffed them up to this perilous extreme." Such was the situation in July, 1914. Such—in the western Mediterranean and in the far east—is the situation today.

In Europe, the future hangs on the British attitude. France will do nothing dangerous without cast-iron British undertakings of support. So the two fascists powers in Europe are bluffing and bullying Britain. In the far east, all apparently depends, again, on Britain—but this time Britain herself depends on the United States. She cannot, because of the European imbroglio, act unilaterally in the far east; and only Russia and the United States come into question as possible coadjutors in the task of restraining Japan. The British conservative government, despite the jeopardy in which its imperial communications now stand, likes not the prospect of collaboration with expropriators in the job of saving British property abroad. It prefers to look to America.

At this eleventh hour of democracy and western individualistic civilization, an American President and his colleagues have soundly declared solidarity with the European democracies in the latter's branding of irresponsible sovereignty and its worst evil: forcible aggression. A British conservative prime minister—leader of an administration which has for six years tried to run with the American hare and hunt with the totalitarian hounds of Europe—has warmly welcomed President Roosevelt's words, and promptly backed out of a promising firm stand against the Italian dictator-aggressor. While some cry one thing about coercion of Japan and Italy, some cry another about isolation, neutrality and peace in our time.

Both in England and the United States, bold words and firm gestures are seen to be like magicians' adacadabra and passes—only, in this case, nothing is produced from the hat. Like so many amateur ventriloquists, the leaders of European democracies have too long been fathering kind words and noble sentiments on the German-Italian and Japanese realists. But the voices do not carry. The dummies are seen as dummies. By their acts are the leaders of Japan, Germany, and Italy known. And after the last few years, those acts speak—roar indeed—to the very skies. Their separate and joint message is unequivocal. It is that three great powers—perhaps four, if we allow for Russia's temporarily expedient conduct—have deliberately rejected and confuted those principles of public and international life on which alone western civilization developed from "the chaos of pre-ordination and night of our forebeings."

This is the measure of the problem which faces the Anglo-Saxon peoples all over the world. If they could agree on an objective—either for the long or short run—all the remaining democracies would wholeheartedly rally in support. The British lead in sanctions and, more recently against submarine piracy at Nyon, proved that (if proof were ever needed). In what, then, and how, can the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom collaborate to strengthen the resistance of their common culture against its common foes? In their joint camp lie freedom, progress, humanity.

First, in a world feverishly rearming, the economic factor is forced more and more into the key position. If every month without declared war can still be called "peace", it is even more obvious that it is also a month substracted from the possible duration of another general war. The democracies are still waiting for the fulfillment of the promise of freer trade made over a year ago by the American, British, and French authorities at the time of the franc's first devaluation. Since then, the rise in world commodity prices has halted and receded; the free stock markets of the world are depressed; and both in France and the United States a recession in trade and industry bids fair to continue into 1938.

Thus, if the United States and the United Kingdom could at last prove to the world their willingness and determination to expand their mutual trade and economic relations, both a lead to the democratic forces in the world and a potent stimulus to lagging internal and external commerce would be imparted. For this, not much is needed. Both on the American

and British sides, vested interests behind existing protective barriers will roll logs to strengthen the jam in trade, by which they obtain a profit at the expense of consumers in both countries. Manufacturers in America, agriculturalists and a few industrialists in England, will squeal and squeeze their governments.

Secondly, however, any such Anglo-Saxon economic collaboration needs the reinforcement of political solidarity. "Political" here has an ugly sound for most Americans. They cannot easily discard the conviction that their wily British cousins want to entrap them in commitments involving military action. I do not think any responsible Englishman believes that to be even a possibility. After all, the British governments of the last six years have assiduously been playing "the America of Europe" as against the League of Nations and the European democracies, in an endeavor to avoid commitments. They have found that rearmament and isolationism not only do not adequately guarantee peace but that they actually spell the impotence of isolationism and the encouragement of peace-breakers.

Nevertheless, the Franco-British front—seemingly firmer a few weeks ago, and again enfeebled later by British vacillation—would be greatly strengthened, sufficiently so to rally to it the other European democracies, if the United States administration were prepared only to consult "with all who love freedom" in the Old World. I know that administrations in all democracies fear to outrun public opinion. But if American public opinion was prepared to consult on disarmament and the far east before Europe had felt the full meaning of dictatorships, and is even now prepared to discuss the fatal outcome of the western powers' separatism six years ago in the far east, what perils for Americans could be involved in consultations which could at least assure "all who love freedom" of American good will and advice, however platonic.

I firmly believe that the sands of our western civilization have run out so fast and far in the last six years that today only a rallying of that civilization's forces can save the entire world from catastrophic change—such a change as plunged the entire known world into darkness for many centuries a millennium and a half ago.

Dictators are right in this: deeds, not word, are wanted; but they are wanted by the democracies, the remaining repositories of a culture and civilization to which mankind owes its greatest and noblest achievement. Among those disarranged, fearful, and isolationist nations, two stand out head and shoulders above every other country in the world; in resources, in capacity, for adaptation, in vigor of mind, and in the will to peace. Whatever greater conferences may omit or commit the United States and the United Kingdom must now take common counsel on the evils which threaten their vital interests. For those interests are no longer assessable merely in terms of oversea investment, trade or empire. They are essential to the very existence, in the long run, of both countries and their social institutions.

For these reasons I hope Americans and my own countrymen will agree, and necessarily very soon, to explore all possibilities of Anglo-American

cooperation: economic, consultative, and even political. The British government is harassed and perplexed; its eyes are on fifty terrible contingencies. If it encountered a real and forceful thrust from the new world—both in economic and international relations—it would have to follow, not hinder. It would not be able to convince the worried people of England that American declarations were only sentimental phrases. But, of course, for this to be achieved, the responsible authorities in the United States must present a cut-and-dried proposal to London; not a proposal which involves the American people in warlike commitments on the one hand, nor a set of sonorous generalities on the other. In the diplomatic sphere, discussions; in the economic, concrete requirements and offers.

That seems a meager program for collobaration. Yet it is a sound, indeed, to my mind the only practicable, basis for Anglo-American cooperation at this vexed eleventh hour. Moreover, it is immeasurably more than the world has seen in the last six menacing years; and it would be immeasurably influential for peace, real peace—not, as Spinoza said three centuries ago, mere absence of declared war. The step needs men with courage and long vision; needs public sympathy and popular understanding of the issues now at stake.

The prospect before the Anglo-Saxon nations, if it is not taken, is such that we may trust it will be taken quickly. For, in the last analysis, the survival of the least unfit for a bit longer than his fellows is no comfort to his species. Will the English, will Americans still bank on "muddling through" singly? Or will they take common counsel in time? History waits on their decision.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S TALK AT QUEENS UNIVERSITY

(An address by President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, on August 18, 1938, as carried in the New York Times, volume 87, page 2, August 19, 1938.)

To the pleasure of being once more on Canadian soil, where I have passed so many of the happy hours of my life, there is added today a very warm sense of gratitude for being admitted to the fellowship of this ancient and famous university. I am glad to join the brotherhood which Queens has contributed and is contributing not only to the spiritual leadership for which the college was established, but also to the social and public leadership in the civilized life of Canada.

An American President is precluded by our constitution from accepting any title from a foreign prince, potentate, or power. Queens University is not a prince or a potentate but it is a power. Yet I can say, without constitutional reserve, that the acceptance of the title which you confer on me today would raise no qualms in the august breast of our own supreme court.

Civilization is not national—it is international—even though that observation, trite to most of us, is today challenged in some parts of the world. Ideas are not limited by territorial borders; they are the common

inheritance of all free people. Thought is not anchored in any land; and the profit of education rebounds to the equal benefit of the whole world. That is one form of free trade to which the leaders of every opposing political party can subscribe.

In a large sense we in the Americas stand charged today with the maintaining of that tradition. When, speaking recently in a similar vein in the republic of Brazil, I included the Dominion of Canada in the fellowship of the Americas, our South American neighbors gave hearty acclaim. We in the Americas know the sorrow and wreckage which may follow if the ability of men to understand each other is rooted out from among the nations.

Many of us here today know from experience that of all the devastations of war none is more tragic than the destruction which it brings to the processes of men's minds. Truth is denied because emotion pushes it aside. Forbearance is succeeded by bitterness. In that atmosphere human thought cannot advance.

It is impossible not to remember that for years when Canadians and Americans have met they have light-heartedly saluted as North American friends, without thought of dangers from overseas. Yet we are awake to the knowledge that the casual assumptions of our greetings in earlier times today must become a matter for serious thought.

A few days ago a whisper, fortunately untrue, raced round the world that armies standing over against each other in unhappy array were to be set in motion. In a few short hours the effect of that whisper had been registered in Montreal and New York, in Ottawa and in Washington, in Toronto and in Chicago, in Vancouver and in San Francisco. Your businessmen and ours felt it alike; your farmers and ours heard it alike; your young men and ours wondered what effect this might have on their lives.

We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigor of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose or not.

Happily, you and we, in friendship and entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored and no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired.

The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire.

We are good neighbors and true friends because we maintain our own rights with frankness, because we refuse to accept the twists of secret

diplomacy, because we settle our disputes by consultation and because we discuss our common problems in the spirit of the common good.

We seek to be scrupulously fair and helpful not only in our relations with each other but each of us at home in our relations with our own people.

But there is one process which we certainly cannot change and probably ought not to change. This is the feeling which ordinary men and women have about events which they can understand. We cannot prevent our people from having an opinion in regard to wanton brutality, in regard to undemocratic regimentation, in regard to misery inflicted on helpless peoples, or in regard to violations of accepted individual rights.

All that any government, constituted as yours and mine, can possibly undertake is to help make sure that the facts are known and fairly stated. No country where thought is free can prevent every fireside and home within its borders from considering the evidence for itself and rendering its own verdict; and the sum total of these conclusions of educated men and women will, in the long run, become the national verdict.

That is what we mean when we say that public opinion ultimately governs policy. It is right and just that this should be the case.

Many of our ancestors came to Canada and the United States because they wished to break away from systems which forbade them to think freely and their descendants have insisted on the right to know the truth —to argue their problems to a majority decision, and, if they remained unconvinced, to disagree in peace. As a tribute to our likeness in that respect, I note that the bill of rights in your country and in mine is substantially the same.

Mr. Chancellor, you or Canada who respect the educational tradition of our democratic continent will ever maintain good neighborship in ideas as we in the public service hope and propose to maintain in the field of government and of foreign relations. My good friend, the governor general, in receiving an honorary degree in June at that university of Cambridge, Mass., to which McKenzie King and I both belong, suggested that we cultivate three qualities to keep our foothold in the shifting sands of the present—humility, humanity, and humor. All three of them, embedded in education, build new spans to reestablish free intercourse throughout the world and bring forth an order in which free nations can live in peace.

NAVAL COOPERATION

(An article by Frank R. Kent in the Baltimore Sun for December 28, 1937.)

Events of the last few days are such as to convince usually well-informed men in Washington that behind the scenes an effective, though unofficial, understanding already has been arrived at between the United States and Great Britain which will insure the cooperation of the fleets of the two nations in dealing with Japan in the far east.

Such an understanding, while not formally admitted, it is pointed out, is as inevitable as it is essential. Not to have it would be extremely unintelligent upon the part of both countries. It may or it may not eventuate in overt action. That depends upon developments, but its existence is indispensable. There is no other way in which either nation can protect its interests or safeguard against repetition of the outrageous incidents from which both have suffered and for which Japan offers profuse apologies and regrets—but repeats. The eagerness of the British for this course has been made apparent in various ways and certainly Mr. Roosevelt's recent declaration in favor of cooperation lends substance to the idea. With whom can we cooperate except the British?

Already both the British and our own fleet are in a position for the quickest possible shift to the orient and in certain informed quarters there is an expectation that before many weeks have passed there will be found in Chinese waters a concentration of British and American war vessels, using Singapore as a supply base, of such proportions as to be overwhelming so far as Japan is concerned—able to crush her if forced. It is known that action along this line has been seriously considered by the President, and it is known that his naval advisers strongly favor it; that Mr. Roosevelt inclines that way.

The arguments are clear. For example, it is contended that the overpowering force which complete British-American naval cooperation could muster would be such as to make it unnecessary to fire a shot, but it would effectually halt Japan and compel her to accept dictation. It is pointed out, further, that the President would need no authorization from Congress to send our fleet to the east. While such a move unquestionably would bring howls of protest from the kind of people who support the Ludlow war referendum resolution, he would be supported by the bulk of the country, certainly by the bulk of the press.

Those who urge active British-American naval cooperation to end the Chino-Japanese conflict are convinced that this will not promote war, but peace—and not only peace in the orient but peace throughout the world. If, through a formidable assembly of naval strength, it can be made plain to Japan that this country and Great Britain are determined to put an end to her aggressions against China, protect their own interests and no longer accept apologies for such things as the *Panay* affair—it will have a very calming effect upon the aggressor nations of Europe, and go a long way to avert war on that continent.

In other words, there is a firm conviction in the minds of men whose judgment ought to be soundest—and this includes some of the leading

diplomats in Washington—that nothing could be better for world peace than a joint demonstration against Japan by the British and American navies, backed up by the French. Once show to the world that the three great democracies are determined and prepared to fight together and there will be no war, because no other combination could stand against them. Financially and in armed power, their superiority would be too great to cope with. The President never said a sounder thing than when, in reply to Mr. Landon's telegram, he expressed himself as against isolation and for cooperation. Cooperation means, of course, with Great Britain and France. It can't mean anything else.

THE END OF ISOLATION

(An editorial in the New York Times, volume 87, page 8, July 24, 1938.)

Within the space of two weeks we have witnessed four spectacular achievements of that new species of humanity—the flying man. Howard Hughes and his companions have circled the globe in less than four days. Douglas Corrigan has proved that a daredevil temperament and a "crate" can carry a man not only across an ocean but into the hearts of an admiring public. The flight of the pickaback seaplane Mercury across the Atlantic in less than fourteen hours is another demonstration of what good engines, good instruments and competent flyers can do. Finally, on Friday morning, almost unannounced, the German seaplane Nordmeer touched water at Port Washington, a little less than eighteen hours out from the Azores.

For a hundred years the world has been growing smaller. Now this shrinking has been enormously speeded up. Measured in travel time the globe is coming down to the dimensions of a parish. Theoretically we don't have to let this happen. Practically we can't help it. Man's drive to conquer space is as much a force of nature as the earth's tendency to revolve around the sun. We can say with perfect confidence that the airplane of the future will be safer, will go faster and will have a longer flying radius than the ones we have today.

The time was, say twenty-five years ago, when such a prediction would have received an unquestioning welcome. Most of us then thought all inventions good, and the invention of the flying machine particularly good. Generations of men had dreamed about it. We had it. We were happy to live in an age that could produce such marvels. But now another thought is present. While airplanes were carrying Hughes around the world, Corrigan to Ireland, Donald Bennett westward over the Atlantic, other airplanes, employing similar principles of flight, were engaged on quite different errands. The marvelous controls invented by the Wrights, the engines for which a small army of inventors might claim credit, the delicate instruments for guidance in flight, were being used in China and Spain to kill civilians. At any time they may be used for the same purpose in other countries. The military value of such killings is doubtful. Nevertheless, we have to expect them in any future war.

Moreover, we must assume that no country will henceforth be wholly safe from them. If England's frontier is on the Rhine our own frontier is steadily approaching the European mainland. For a determined enemy it may already have reached that line. One does not want to argue that we should take an interest in world peace only because we are becoming vulnerable to attack. Nevertheless that fact drives the lesson home. And there is a larger fact. Even though we could not be conquered from the air the speed of air travel is tying closer knots in all our relations with other countries. Their peace and their security are our peace and our security, their danger is our danger. We can no longer withdraw from the world. We are in it and of it.

We have no stake in the parochial quarrels of Europe. We do have a stake in free institutions and free peoples everywhere. We are unavoidably linked by common perils and common hopes, not to the changing governments but to the permanent peoples of the European democracies. It would be alien to our traditions to enter into military alliances with them. But we are now their geographical neighbors as we have never been before. Inevitably we must make common cause with them, not for conquest, nor for war, but for the common safety.

Like the soul of man, the airplane has a dual personality. It can be either the genial Dr. Jekyll or the malignant Mr. Hyde. In this it is symbolic of much of the apparatus of our present day civilizations. These mighty mechanisms can be directed and controlled for good only by the world wide action of democratic peoples. That is what we are coming to. The time for isolation had already past thirty-five years ago when Orville Wright got his rag-and-kindling-wood flying machine off the sands at Kill Devil Hill.

NEGATIVE REFERENCES

HAVE WE BONDS WITH THE BRITISH?

(An article by Quincy Howe in the North American Review, volume 245, pages 240-255, Summer, 1938.)

Livingston Hartley's article *Our Bonds with the British* in the spring, 1938, issue of the North American Review establishes a happy precedent in the literature of Anglo-American apologetics. Its author is the first man within living memory to avoid false sentiment and hypocrisy while advocating closer ties between the two great English-speaking nations. Unlike such dreamers as Nicholas Murray Butler, Thomas W. Lamont, James T. Shotwell, and Walter Lippmann, Mr. Hartley devotes primary attention to the material advantages to be derived from Anglo-American understanding.

About a year ago I embarked on a different task and tried to smoke out the conventional Anglophiles by insulting them as roundly as I knew how. Under the flip title of *England Expects Every American to do his Duty* I wrote a book whose chief purpose was to remove the discussion from the atmosphere that infests an English-speaking union dinner. Whether my book encouraged Mr. Hartley to write his article I do not know; I do know that his article prompts me to substitute reason for invective and to bring the issues up to date.

The tone of Mr. Hartley's article and his former post in the state department make him a frank if not an official spokesman for the real aims of President Roosevelt's foreign policy. Mr. Hartley does not deny that the Roosevelt policy is essentially pro-British; indeed he rather glories in it for that reason. He also argues the case for a pro-British American foreign policy on logical and practical grounds.

"The high-ceilinged rooms of the state department," he says in his opening paragraph, "contain very few officials who do not believe that a stronger Britain will benefit the national interests of the United States." Agreed—at least for the purpose of this discussion. But in the light of recent events what hope is there for this "stronger Britain" that Mr. Hartley and the officials of the state department desire?

When President Roosevelt delivered his famous Chicago speech calling for a quarantine of aggressors, the entire Anglo-American cheering section applauded. Alfred M. Landon and Henry L. Stimson, the New York Times and Secretary Hull rallied behind the President. Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden agreed that it was a "clarion call." But neither Chamberlain nor Eden showed themselves willing to follow up the President's appeal with a strong policy along the lines he had defined. At the Brussels conference Mr. Eden confined himself to the emptiest kind of generalities and within a few months Mr. Chamberlain was trying to dicker with the very aggressors whom Mr. Roosevelt invited him to quarantine.

Those American who had praised the Chicago speech thereupon attacked Mr. Chamberlain's hyprocrisy and cowardice. Having been accused of

extreme anti-British bias I am amused at finding my accusers turning on Mr. Chamberlain far more savagely than I have ever turned upon any Englishman. I can therefore only repeat in connection with the present British prime minister precisely the same point I made in connection with his predecessor whose foreign policy Mr. Chamberlain is continuing intact. That point has nothing to do with democracy, collective security, or quarantining aggressors. It is that any British statesman, whether his name be Baldwin, Chamberlain, or Eden, is defending a lost cause.

It is true that Mr. Eden parted company with Mr. Chamberlain in February, 1938, when the latter refused to stand up to either of the two fascist dictators. But until Mr. Eden resigned from the cabinet he had followed exactly the same conciliatory line that Mr. Chamberlain still pursues in the face of repeated acts of fascist aggression. Mr. Eden refused to apply oil sanctions against Italy or to close the Suez canal to Italian troop and supply ships in 1936. He supported the hypocritical non-intervention committee in Spain because, in his own words, he again preferred "peace at almost any price."

With this policy I have no quarrel; I simply point out that it is the policy of the lesser evil which becomes, in time, the policy of the greater evil. In 1931, for example, the British foreign office gave its tacit support to Japan's invasion of Manchuria. This did not mean that the British welcomed the prospect of a greater Japan dominating eastern Asia; it simply meant that at the time a Japanese conquest of Manchuria seemed to be the only practical alternative to the extension of communism in China. The Nanking government had launched campaign after campaign against the communist armies of China and was so absorbed in its efforts to stamp out revolution that it had no strength and little desire to give battle to Japan. Chiang Kai-shek himself regarded the Japanese invaders as a lesser evil than those of his own fellow-countrymen who had embraced communism.

Time marched on. The Japanese not only conquered Manchuria, they swallowed Jehol province as well. Chiang Kai-shek and the communists began to weary of their long warfare and drew together in defense of their common fatherland. In November, 1934, General Smuts, the most important single spokesman of British imperial policy, told the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London that Japan had become the chief threat to British imperial interests in Asia. By 1937 the Chinese communists forgot that they had once called Chiang Kai-shek "the running-dog of foreign imperialism" and he, in turn, was persuaded by a kidnaping party to take a stronger line toward Japan and to accept communist support. And since the outbreak of large-scale hostilities in China, the British have tended to favor the Chinese armies, communists and all, against Japan. Whether this support will continue remains, of course, to be seen.

The same pattern repeated itself in Ethiopia and Spain. The British national government never welcomed the prospect of Italian expansion in Africa or Spain, in the eastern or the western Mediterranean. But it relished even less the prospect of a black colonial people defeating a white

imperialist power or the triumph of the Spanish socialists, communists, and syndicalists at the expense of General Franco's fascist. Therefore the British foreign office threw its reluctant support to the lesser evil of fascist aggression.

Just as General Smuts in 1934 urged the British to withdraw their support from Japan in Asia, so Anthony Eden in 1938 urged his fellow cabinet officers to stop favoring Hitler and Mussolini in Europe. But Neville Chamberlain saw an even greater evil than the fascist international. He feared that the Eden line would lead to immediate war.

Now it happens to be my personal conviction that events will prove Mr. Eden right and Mr. Chamberlain wrong, or perhaps I should say that the Chamberlain line will have to be discarded in favor of Mr. Eden's at some future time. But this is not the question here. The point at issue is whether Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Eden or anyone else can maintain British rule intact over one quarter of the earth's surface. Lord Halifax has certainly undergone a disappointing experience with Mr. Hitler and one not calculated to add to British prestige or British self-confidence. The experience began with the Berchtesgaden conversations. It continued when Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop visited London. It terminated when Hitler rudely took over Austria in the middle of von Ribbentrop's London sojourn. Lord Halifax's comment on the Austrian coup sums up the official British attitude. "Horrible, horrible," he moaned, holding his head in his hands as he paced the floor of the foreign office, "I never thought they'd do it."

But what would have been the alternative to the Chamberlain-Halifax policy? Perhaps it is true, as the supporters of collective security argue, that economic sanctions would bring Hitler and Mussolini tumbling down —or at least bring them to terms without war. Perhaps it is also true, as the military men argue, that any general war would quickly annihilate the German-Italian-Japanese combination. But Eden's policy does not totally exclude the possibility of war and even a short victorious war by no means guarantees the integrity of the British Empire. For behind Chamberlain's policy lies not only the fear of immediate war; there also lies the fear that if Britain becomes involved in any general war, however brief and however one-sided, the empire as it exists today will be doomed.

The weakest and most disturbing feature of Mr. Hartley's case and of a great many high-placed Americans (not to mention Britishers) who think as he does is their failure even to consider the possibility that perhaps there simply is not any policy at all that can preserve the British Empire intact. All the pleas for American support for Great Britain are surrounded by a veritable conspiracy of silence on the subject of whether or not the British Empire can be successfully defended. Just drop the hint to any British subject—whether he happens to travel on a British or an American passport is an unimportant detail—that perhaps the British Empire is doomed beyond recall and you will be greeted by a storm of abuse, spluttering futility, or humorous evasion. And Mr. Hartley runs

true to form in refusing to consider even as a remote possibility the idea that the closest kind of Anglo-American alliance may not be able to save the empire.

Perhaps it is in order to cover up this evasion that Mr. Hartley cannot resist a brief reference to our "intangible bonds" with the British. Well, if Britain sinks into the sea we shall still have the works of Shakespeare and Milton; we shall lose only J. B. Priestley and Sir Hugh Walpole unless, as is more than likely, they are lecturing in the United States when the empire goes under. As for the "tangible" bonds of trade and investments Mr. Hartley indulges in some very fancy mathematics. Over 40% of our exports go to the British Empire, he reminds us, while our imports from British-owned territories amount to more than one-third of everything we buy from abroad. This sounds impressive until we remember another figure that Mr. Hartley conveniently forgets: 90% of our trade is domestic. In other words Mr. Hartley is subordinating our whole foreign policy to less than 5% of our total volume of business. Furthermore, Britain's physical dependence on many American commodities and factory products will continue whatever foreign policy we may pursue. We do not have to sign one of Mr. Hull's reciprocal treaties in order to keep most of this 5% of our total trade.

Mr. Hartley uses the same mathematical trick in discussing our investments in the British Empire. His total figure of $2,700,000,000 sounds like a lot of money; it is 36%, he says, of our "world total." But this "world total" amounts to less than half of 1% of our total national wealth which is estimated at $365,000,000,000. Again, as in the case of foreign trade, our foreign investments would not seem to deserve quite the importance that Mr. Hartley attaches to them nor would we automatically lose all these investments and all this trade if the cardinal aim of our foreign policy were not to underwrite the British Empire.

Furthermore, in discussing this empire Mr. Hartley juggles words as conveniently as he juggles figures. He speaks of the affinity between the self-governing British dominions and the United States. But suddenly the British dominions (consisting of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa with a total population of 24,000,000, chiefly whites) become the British Empire with a total population of over 400,000,000, chiefly colored. Perhaps the United States has much in common with the British dominions, but this is not what Mr. Hartley says when he refers to America's "kinship of view with the British Empire on foreign affairs."

Scratch an American Anglophile and you get an American imperialist. As Mr. Hartley warms to his theme he argues that "the larger interests in the United States and the British Empire are parallel in eastern Asia." These "larger interests" he never defines; certainly they cannot be America's infinitesmal trade with China or its tiny stake in far eastern investments. If "larger interests" appeal to Mr. Hartley he would do better to urge closer relations with Japan.

When Mr. Hartley discusses the "parallel position" of the United States and Great Britain in respect to peace he loses all touch with the real world. "Both the United States and the British Empire are 'status quo'

powers." The British Empire, covering as it does one quarter of the earth's surface and ruling over one quarter of the earth's inhabitants, obviously stands to lose by almost any alteration in the existing order almost anywhere on earth. The United States covers less ground and can therefore regard with indifference many changes that affect Britain vitally.

It is true in pursuance of the policy of the lesser evil and in line with its determination to avoid war at almost any price the British foreign office has done nothing to prevent changes in the status quo as far as Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, and Austria are concerned. But the changes it has been powerless to stop in those quarters have put the nations that profited from them in a better position to challenge Britain's two really vital interests, interests for which the foreign office admits that Britain would have to fight. One of these is control of the sea-lanes leading to the British Isles; the other is resistance to hostile penetration of France and the low countries. In other words, if the naval status quo undergoes a change, especially in the northeastern Atlantic, or if the territorial status quo undergoes a change, especially in western Europe, Great Britain must go to war.

The United States also has vital interests which it would fight to protect, but these are not the same interests for which the British Empire would do battle. If Japan seized Hawaii, if Germany or Italy made one of the Latin American republics a vassal state, if, under present conditions, the far-off Philippines were attacked, the United States would be bound to resist. But such threats as these also affect British interests unfavorably and Britain would therefore show at least benevolent neutrality toward any action the United States might choose to take. In short, it is not necessary for the United States to pledge assistance to Great Britain in any and every part of the world and to launch another fatal war-time boom as it did between 1914 and 1917 in order to gain British support when some vital American interest is threatened.

In bracketing the United States and Great Britain as "status quo powers" Mr. Hartley implies that both countries have an almost equal interest in resisting almost any kind of change almost anywhere on earth. The British Empire, by virtue of its world-wide ramifications, cannot remain indifferent to events in any quarter of the globe and since it is sitting on top of the world it has nowhere to go but down. The position of the United States is entirely different. It is the fashion these days to speak of the "have" and "have-not" nations and on the basis of this classification the United States and the British Empire belong in the ranks of the "have" powers. But so, for that matter, does Switzerland and yet no one claims that simply because Switzerland has no territorial ambitions it must therefore fight to uphold the status quo in eastern Asia. In like manner, the United States has no territorial ambitions, but simply because it is a larger nation than Switzerland, Mr. Hartley and others assume that Americans should intervene in European struggles which have no more bearing on their interests than the warfare in China has upon the interests of the Swiss. In any event, before the United States enters into the

universal partnership with Britain that Mr. Hartley suggests, let him or somebody else bring forward a clear-cut balance sheet showing exactly what material advantages the American people would stand to gain.

Until such a balance sheet makes its appearance there is but one construction that can be put upon the pleas of Mr. Hartley and other Anglophiles. The use of the words "status quo power" in connection with the United States provides the tip-off. Like a good many other countries in this disturbed century the United States faces not just another swing of the business cycle but a crisis of the system. The 1929 depression was the first depression in American history that sank to a lower level than the previous cyclical decline. The 1936-37 revival was the first revival that did not far exceed all previous periods of prosperity. One may assign the blame where one pleases but the fact remains that almost ten years after the crash of 1929 there are still more than ten million unemployed in the United States and the young people of the country—like the youth of Germany before (and after) Hitler—have not got a chance.

Three broad solutions present themselves. Two of them, fascism and socialism, are ruled out because no program, no leader, no organization exists to make either of them effective in the near future. Mr. Roosevelt has taken a few faltering steps along the "middle way" of social security, labor legislation, government operation of utilities, higher taxes, slum clearance, public works, but he has lagged far behind the British Tories—not to mention the social democrats of Scandinavia—in all these directions. Certainly no fascist and at best a rather timid progressive, Mr. Roosevelt has chosen the only other possible solution.

It is the path of imperial expansion. Secretary Hull lays great store by foreign trade. The big navy program not only primes the pump; it serves notice on the world at large that the Roosevelt administration seeks salvation abroad. The same "economic royalists" who attacked the President's supreme court measures and his reorganization bill endorse his foreign policy to the hilt—the New York Times, Governor Landon, James P. Warburg (who wrote *Hell Bent for Election*, but voted for Roosevelt because he liked his foreign policy), former Secretary Stimson, Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, and so on down the line. The aid of all these good people is to uphold the status quo at home and abroad and to question whether the status quo can be successfully maintained anywhere on earth is to challenge so deep a conviction, so basic an interest as to make further discussion of the subject impossible.

Now I am not arguing that Roosevelt should adopt a more radical domestic or foreign policy. I am simply insisting that the conservative supporters of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy have completely closed their eyes to the urgency of the domestic situation. I have already indicated the blindness of our Anglophiles to the precarious condition of the British Empire. That we may be living in a century of revolution as well as a century of war does not seem to have occurred to them. Such events as the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Chinese Revolution of 1924-27, the Ghandi movement in India do not enter into their calculations of future possibilities.

They are not equally blind to the changes that are going on under their noses in the United States. The supporters of Landon who are rallying around the Roosevelt foreign policy, almost to a man, completely misread the temper of the American people in November, 1936. ("I accept the verdict of the American people," wrote the ineffable Dorothy Thompson the day after election.) The British Tories, the arch representatives of reaction, have been guilty of no such blindness and stupidity as our Liberty Leaguers. At least they recognize the nature of the crisis that confronts them and if one may speak, as M. André Maurois does, of "The Miracles of England," it is that the English ruling class still remains in the saddle twenty years after the Armistice of 1918. In view of the way most American conservatives have consistently misread both the foreign and the domestic situation the miracle of America is that they command any attention at all.

Mr. Hartley offers a typical rather than an extreme example of the wishful and fuzzy thinking of the American conservative. In recommending a virtual Anglo-American alliance he does not so much as pause to consider whether such an alliance can achieve its objectives. Then, in urging a stronger foreign policy upon the United States, it does not occur to him that any foreign policy the United States pursues perhaps has some faint connection with domestic conditions. When, therefore, he holds out to us as a serious possibility the vision of a world overrun by the fascist international the suspicion arises that he has been reading the Daily Worker under the misapprehension that it was the New York Times, the chief difference between these two exponents of collective security being the greater susceptibility of the communist newspaper to British propaganda about the menace of fascism.

Like the advocates of simon-pure collective security, Mr. Hartley brings his argument to a conclusion by depicting the German-Italian-Japanese combination taking over a world system that the British, with their far greater power and experience, are finding more and more difficult to dominate. I therefore rise to suggest that Mr. Hartley forget his apocalyptic dreams of fascist world conquest long enough to read a volume entitled *If War Comes* by R. Ernest Dupuy and George Fielding Eliot, both of them majors in the United States army, and Major Eliot's article on Italy in the April, 1938, issue of Harper's. He will discover not only that material factors make a program of fascist world conquest the height of improbability; he may also perceive that the myth of German, Italian, and Japanese invincibility is sedulously fostered by British propagandists eager to persuade the United States to support the British Empire in the second World War. As Major Eliot observes, "They would like very much to have American aid. But they do not need us and there is no occasion for Americans to fight another European war to make the world safe for democracy."

Major Eliot bases his analysis on purely material factors: manpower, seapower, supplies of raw materials, technical proficiency, geo-politics. If this economic and military analysis is extended to include social and political factors, the case against the Anglo-American imperialist crusade

against the rival imperialist systems of Germany, Italy, and Japan becomes even stronger. We are witnessing today not a repetition of 1914, although the line-up of the various nations seems to be following the 1914 pattern. History does not repeat itself; it goes on where it left off. The first World War started with a battle for imperialist spoils and ended with a red-hunt at the expense of bolshevist Russia. The second world war (which has already begun) has some of the same imperialist objectives. That is to say, the Japanese hope to exploit Manchuria as the British have exploited China proper; Mussolini hopes to exploit Ethiopia as the French have exploited Morocco and Algieria. But the stakes in the imperialist game are dwindling. Before the war India imported 75 per cent of its cotton textiles from Great Britain and manufactured the remaining 25 per cent domestically; today, Indian-owned cotton mills supply 75 per cent of India's needs. From 1900 to 1914 about half the new capital issues floated each year on the London money market went into foreign investments; since 1930 the corresponding figure has averaged about 2 per cent.

This economic revolution—for many "backward" countries are now going through the same industrial revolution that occurred in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—has not only weakened the position of the British, French, Dutch, and other colonial empires; it has strengthened the nationalist middle class and the revolutionary working class in the colonial countries and enabled them to present more effective opposition to foreign rule. At the same time, the British, French, Dutch, and other "democratic" peoples have set up systems of taxation, social security, unemployment relief, government interference with private enterprise, cooperative and socialist experiments. The fascist countries, on the other hand, unable to afford these luxuries, have reduced the middle and working classes more and more to a condition of slavery. I am not one of those who foresee a revolution in Germany or Italy tomorrow. I do, however, foresee Hitler and Mussolini preferring war to internal collapse and I doubt that anything short of war can bring either of them down. I also maintain that neither Hitler nor Mussolini can possibly wage a successful major war; in fact, it is the fear of what might follow the collapse of Hitler or Mussolini that accounts in large measure for the hesitation of the British ruling class to force a show-down with either of the fascist dictators. Here is another illustration of the policy of the lesser evil.

I have only one quarrel with Mr. Hartley's version of the decline and fall of the British Empire. The fascist international is not the only threat to Great Britain and what Mr. Hartley and his British friends now represent as a crusade against the fascist menace may presently become a crusade against the still greater menace of revolution inside the British Empire and inside the fascist powers themselves. I am not pleading the case for revolution in Europe or Asia any more than I am pleading the case for fascism. I am simply raising the question of whether the crusade against revolution on which Great Britain proposes that we embark (in the name of a crusade against fascism) can be fought to a successful conclusion.

The removal of Anthony Eden suggests, of course, that the British national government has abandoned all pretensions to democracy and may even have reached some secret understanding with Hitler and Mussolini. This is as it may be, but it seems far more logical to foresee an eventual stiffening of British resistance and the definite abandonment of the present policy of vacillation—especially if the United States can be persuaded to cooperate. Barkis (in the form of Secretary Hull) appears to be more than willing, but how and when the eventual consolidation of Anglo-American forces will occur no one can say at the moment.

Under the circumstances common prudence would seem to dictate that the United States adopt a strictly isolationist line since any cooperation could mean only one thing: support for the British imperial system. A time may come when we should support this system, at least in part, but when that time arrives our isolationist position will be our strongest bargaining point in any negotiations we may undertake with Great Britain or any other power. By adhering to isolation until we know exactly what kind of cooperation we are letting ourselves in for we are at least protecting ourselves against enlisting—as President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull would have us do—in any and every crusade for any and every abstract principle such as respect for treaties, quarantining aggressors, preserving orderly processes.

Mr. Hartley modestly concludes with a note of skepticism and admits that there may be some doubt as to whether the United States should fight rather than let the British Empire go under. For my part I am only too glad to admit that the preservation of some parts of the empire may become a matter of vital interest to the United States at some future time. But until that time comes, the present tendency of the state department to enter into vague understandings with the British foreign office can lead only to the enlistment of the American people in behalf of a lost cause which is not even their own.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(A radio address delivered by Senator William E. Borah on March 28, 1938.)

Above the din of screeching and incoherent propaganda, calculated, if not designed, to break down the traditional foreign policy of this government and involve us in foreign controversies and wars, it was reassuring to hear the clear, sane voice of our American ambassador in London saying: "The great majority of Americans oppose any entangling alliances. Most Americans insist that their country retain its independent and unmortgaged judgment as to the merits of world crises as and when they arise. This viewpoint has dominated the whole foreign policy of the United States and it endures to this day. . . . The United States has no intention of attacking any one. It does not expect to be attacked. It is now, and intends to remain, on friendly terms with every country in the world. If the force of events should make it impossible for us to follow this policy, my country will decide, when the time comes, what to do to preserve the welfare of its own citizens."

This sound policy, here stated, is as essential to the contentment and happiness of the American people and to the power and dignity of this republic as when Jefferson first stated our foreign policy to be: Peace with all nations, commerce with all nations, friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

While providing at all times adequate national defense as against those who would attack us, it should still be the policy of this government to seek friendly relations with "every country in the world", regardless of race or creed, political theories, or forms of government. However abhorent may be the theories, or practices, maintained in other countries, the amelioriation of such conditions does not lie in a departure from the sound foreign policy so clearly and so well stated above and so long maintained by this government.

When the French revolution, which the younger Pitt declared to be the "terror and dismay" of the world, was threatening all Europe, when the only government in France was the committee of public safety, with its Dantons and its Robespierres, George Washington, with unanimous approval of his cabinet, in which sat Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, extended recognition to this improvised government of France. No one could detest the things then happening in France more than the man whose very name was a synonym for ordered liberty. It is one thing to personally reject an ism, or a political creed, but it is wholly a different matter to permit these things to change international relations.

It seems worth while, in view of the studied effort to use the happenings in Europe as the basis of our policy in the United States and as a means to throw our people, directly or indirectly, into European affairs, to review some rather recent history that we may understand just why these things are happening and the moving forces underlying the happenings.

When the so-called peace treaties were signed at Versailles, ancient states had been dismembered, national boundaries reestablished, vast colonial possessions given over to the victors, people shoved about from sovereignty to sovereignty, with no more choice on their part than have cattle which are prodded from one corral to another. All Europe, and parts of Asia, had been redistributed, divided up, parcelled out, largely in accordance with the terms of the secret treaties made while our American boys were being conscripted to fight in foreign countries for the preservation of democracy. In the vindictive fatuousness, which so often comes with the aftermath of war, it seemed to be believed at that time that this arbitrary division of the world would stand, that the Ptolemaic theory of the universe could be applied to politics, that the world no longer moved, that the status quo was sacred and blessed with immortality, that the "have nations" would become the righteous nations, and the "have nots" the unrighteous. And, furthermore, that the United States, with her manpower and her money, should maintain and underwrite the status quo. Hence, the League of Nations.

Of course, such a treaty could not stand. It affronted every principle of justice and challenged the deepest passion of the human heart, that of nationality. It soon brought Europe to a state of bitter unrest and shortly

to hunger and want and unspeakable suffering upon the part of the masses. As a result, all nations, even in the midst of economic paralysis, began to arm. While the hospitals of the nations were still crowded with the maimed and the insane, everywhere there was preparation for war—really preparation for the maintenance of the terms of the Versailles treaty. The Versailles treaty is the mother of modern armaments. There has been no peace in Europe since it was written and it seems to be certain there will be no peace until its most unjust terms are ameliorated or rejected.

This condition was not unforeseen; in fact, it seems from the things which followed that the makers of these treaties anticipated the happenings which are now being recorded. Viscount James Bryce, the author of the American Commonwealth, declared at Williamstown, Massachusetts: "The seeds of future wars have been sown in Europe by the deliberations and the findings of the Versailles conference." From a much humbler source—I may be pardoned for recalling that in 1921 I expressed the following view: "So long as the Versailles treaty is the fundamental law of Europe, just that long there will be misery, unrest, conflict, and bloodshed."

The German dictator reached out recently and took under his control and direction the once proud country of Austria. It is a sad and stirring thing to see a once great nation—the vast estate of Maria Theresa—pass under the domination of another power. But if you begin your study of the event with the signing of the Versailles treaty, that which happened to Austria would appear natural, logical, inevitable, and a thing which is not of the slightest moment to the government, as a government, of the United States.

Austria has never been an independent nation, except in name, since she escaped from the operating table at Versailles. It was there that she was robbed of her wealth, most of her natural resources, and deprived of every means by which she could hope to become and remain an independent nation. Economically, financially, politically, she had been rendered helpless. It was inevitable that some strong power would extend its dominion to this rather pivotable piece of territory. If Hitler had remained a hod-carrier in his native village, Austria and Germany would nevertheless have come together sooner or later as they undertook to do peacefully in 1931. This peaceful movement was interrupted when the so-called World Court suffered itself to be made a political tool of the chancellors of Europe. The Versailles treaty has many crimes for which it must give account, but none more futile and brutal than its crime against Austria. It is nothing less than a flimsy piece of transparent acting for those nations which joined in committing that first crime, to seek to make a great world tragedy of the fact that the nation thus outraged has come under a new master. Austria cannot possibly receive a harsher treatment at its hands than it received in the first instance at the hands of its friends. It would not be necessary to recall these matters, plain indisputable facts of history, were it not for the exaggerated use

which is being made of this incident to shame and denounce the American people for refusing to have a part in these unfortunate events.

I have used the singular term in speaking of the Versailles treaty but have had in mind, of course, a group of treaties, including the treaty of St. Germain and of Trianon.

Let us consider another line of thought upon the part of those who would lead us as a nation into European affairs. Modern wars are mass wars, and the art of leading a people into war is the art of deceiving the masses. You could hardly expect a people to be greatly moved over a distribution, or redistribution, of territory unless it was their own territory. Some more searching appeal must be had. Naturally, therefore, there comes into the discussion the problem of democracy, of again saving democracy. We are plainly told that there should be an alliance, parallel or otherwise, between democracies that we may offer a solid front against dictators.

It seems to be assumed there is, or will be shortly, a line-up of the nations—the totalitarian states upon the one side and the democracies on the other. And that these antagonistic forces will sometime or other settle their differences in some great naval battle like Actium or Trafalgar. If we are to judge the future by the past, or if we are to consider the forces which move nations, all this seems impracticable and unworkable. When have nations drawn apart or held together by reason of different, or the same, views or philosophies as to forms of government or political theories? A nation acts, indeed, must act, under the iron law of self-interest, a thing seldom determined by forms of government. Paraphrasing the words of Lord Rosebery, the instinct of self-interest guides the European powers with the same certainty as the weather moves the sheep on the hill. A nation does not, and cannot, choose its friends because of approval, or disapproval, of theories or practices, political or otherwise. Will we not trade, and will we not always be anxious to trade, with peoples whose doctrines we reject and possibly fear? We went into the World War to make the world safe for democracy and we made it a breeding camp for dictators. And, like Mark Antony over the body of the bleeding Caesar, we quickly seized the bloody hands ot those who had assassinated liberty. We need not go back even so far as the World War for an illustration that nations, including democracies, obey the rule of self-interest.

Seven years ago the most arbitrary and militaristic of governments invaded China and seized vast territory in violation of the pact of Paris, the nine-power treaty, and the covenant of the League of Nations. Here was a matter in which all who believe in the sanctity of treaties would be interested. This democracy said to the British democracy: Come, let us act together, let us protest this running amuck among the most solemn of treaties and the invasion of a friendly nation, let us at least refuse to recognize the fruits of the crime. But the British democracy felt its interests lay in a different direction. It took its stand with the arbitrary government in as pronounced a disregard of treaties as history records. Before the assembly of the league, it defended the violation of these

treaties better, said Japan, than Japan could have done. It assigned as a reason that its trade interests could be better protected and would be protected by the invading nation. Greatly disappointed, manifestly humiliated, we learned once more that kindred languages or political theories, culture, or outward friendships disappear in the presence of national interests.

The British democracy is no exception to this rule. It was following a rule of national conduct common to all nations. Countless instances could be cited on the part of other nations. The theory that democracies, because they are democracies, can act together in the interest of democracy is only a theory. Tomorrow some reality involving the welfare of a nation will break the theory in pieces. Washington, under conditions not dissimilar to our conditions at present, declared: "There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard."

The theory that you can save democracy through an alliance with democracy is a misleading theory. An alliance is an alliance, with all its burdens and dangers, its debts, controversies and wars. Such an alliance would have all the vices and none of the virtues of the old balance of power. It would be potent enough to get us into all kinds of involvements but not strong enough to get us out, for when the crucial test came, the question of democracy would give way to national interests, or more likely, national ambitions.

The problems of democracy, especially our democracy—and I believe of all democracies—lie closer home and are to be worked out along wholly different lines. After we have provided adequate defense for our nation, as we shall do, the problems of democracy remain. Democracies are bleeding inwardly. The healing is not to be found in armaments, but in bringing contentment, happiness and prosperity to the harried, confused, and discouraged citizen. There is greater danger to our democracy in that vast army of unemployed encamped in every city, town and village throughout the land, in that fifty million men, women and children living in constant sight of the poverty line, poorly clad and poorly fed, in the hundreds of thousands, with the number increasing every year, of malformed and rickety children, of the five million girls and boys who leave colleges and universities finding no avenue in which to engage their energies, their genius—more danger here by far than in any fleet of battleships which any nation, or group of nations, may choose to send against us. The danger coming from the latter is remote, highly problematical. But the danger as to the former is here in all its hideous ugliness eating away at the moral fibre of our people. Widespread poverty, want, and suicide walking with want, will in time break the morale and destroy the faith in government of any people. I care not what flag floats over a people, what their traditions as to liberty may be, how well their institutions of government express the aspirations and hopes of a people, crushing taxes and hunger and disease and broken families, will in time undermine and destroy all these things. These are the things which make for communism

and fascism and which today wage war against every democracy in the world. This is the problem of democracy. If democracy cannot find a cure for the disease of waste, for the things which undermine and discourage the citizen and dissipate his energies, it is useless to talk of combinations or alliances, or in preparedness, because the remedy of these things constitutes the true basis of all preparedness. I do not disagree in any respect with those who regard the doctrines now being preached and practiced in some countries, as a menace to every principle of free government. We disagree only as to the manner and method of combating the menace. Enemies of liberty, enemies of religion, enemies of the family, the communists' and fascists' doctrines would sweep away the very foundation stones of Christian civilization. They constitute the severest trial which the lust for power and the frenzy of crime have inflicted upon the human family. What day passes but records some shocking decree against liberty, against race or religion, some assassination at the instance of government, some purge to quiet the cowardly fears of those in power? Such a system is itself a declaration of war against democracy. I do not minimize what all this means to the people of this country and all that they cherish. But I do contend most earnestly that the first line of defense against such enemies is the clear mind, the sturdy character, and the loyal heart of the citizen. Against these systems there is, in the last analysis, no security, no protection, except the security and protection found in the contentment, and happiness, the prosperity and the devotion of the people.

I know of no course we as a people could pursue more definitely calculated to establish a totalitarian government in this country than by permitting ourselves to be involved in foreign wars. Let us consider for a moment what it would involve if we were called upon to wage war in some foreign affair. To start with, we would have a national debt of forty billion dollars, taxes already so heavy and burdensome that they are discouraging and demoralizing all lines of industry, a heavy deficit, thirteen million unemployed, practically one-third of our population poorly clothed and poorly fed. The government would call for and receive authority for the exercise of the most arbitrary power. If you doubt that, turn with me and consider a bill now pending in the Congress and which has already received the approval of a committee of the Congress. It is called the War Profits bill—it ought to be called a bill to cut the jugular vein of this republic. It is called a National Defense act—it should be called the National Assault act. How perfectly it would fit into a war situation. It transfers to one man practically all conceivable governmental powers. The businessman, the producer, the laborer, the civilian, and all walks of life, would be regimented and every right of the citizen, as those rights have been known and enjoyed, would be subject to the arbitrary power of one man. If the bill were enacted into law, we would have as complete a totalitarian state in many respects as they have in Germany and Italy. It is astounding that we have reached a point in constitutional thought when such a bill would even be proposed. But it is a war measure, and, if war should come, it would likely be overwhelmingly passed. But this is what

war means under present economic conditions, especially so. War is always the eternal enemy of democracy, the friend of communism, and the father of fascism. Yet, those who would drag us into all foreign controversies are the friends of just such measures as above referred to. While accentuating our supposed duties abroad, they would undermine and destroy our liberty as a people at home. Those who talk so glibly about our duty to crush nazi-ism in Europe, if they should have their way, would plant the brutal thing in the very heart of the American republic.

When we look about us and witness the utter degradation to which once strong, proud peoples have been reduced, the comforts and security of home gone, freedom of worship denied, the right to be heard in defense of limb, liberty or life utterly unknown, no free, unchallenged life anywhere or in any respect, and then contemplate the guarantees of the Great Charter and what they mean to the people, the sacred traditions against which they are buttressed, what mad folly it is to offer to strike all these down in the name of national defense. It is an expression of that abnormal, almost insane, official egotism now oppressing and torturing the life of peoples everywhere, which proceed upon the theory that a few officials, temporarily and often through political accident in power, are wiser than the accumulated intellect of all the people.

History seems to record that if a people once loses that feeling toward their government, which is hard to define yet easily recognized, and which has been a part of the life of every great people, a mingling, as it were, of a sense of reverence with a spirit of comradeship, something essentially divine and yet something of which the people are a part—this once lost, can never be restored. When government and country mean no more than something with which to experiment on the one hand and something to exploit on the other hand, the nation has already reached the meridian of its greatness. And if any such measure as the foregoing should ever receive the approval of the American people, it would be conclusive proof that they were no longer fit for liberty.

Coming back to the main subject, our foreign policy. It is urged that, while alliances may be objectionable, we should cooperate. Cooperation, it is said, is the law of life, the true spirit of humanity, and, failing to cooperate, we will, as a nation, become ostracized and finally fall into spiritual, moral and physical decay. With whom are we going to cooperate? And is that cooperation to be by authority and approval of the people or an official who may be in the place of power? There were those in this country who urged earnestly that we cooperate with Mr. Eden in his policy of refusing to negotiate with the dictators and, if necessary, urged whipping the dictators. But they did not wish to cooperate with Mr. Chamberlain's policy of negotiation. The former cooperation might have led us into war; the latter would lead us into close association with Hitler and Mussolini. There are those who would have had us cooperate with Great Britain when she seemed ready to engage in war with Japan. But what would be our policy of cooperation when it should appear that Great Britain may again join hands with Japan, recognize her authority

over north China and become her permanent ally? Shall we cooperate with Great Britain if she concludes to fight for the German colonies? If we cooperate with France, a republic, against Germany, shall we be content to cooperate with Russia, France's close ally? This policy of cooperation is rather difficult to apply to practical purposes. Either we must accept the policies as established by other countries or the people of the United States would become mere playthings of the likes and dislikes of those who might be in power.

We would be interested also, I should think, in the matter of cooperation to know just how policies are formed upon the part of those with whom we should cooperate and how wars are made. It is conceivable that if the people in those countries had anything to say about peace or war, it might be a basis for cooperation. For, I venture to believe, there would be very few wars. But I invite your attention as to how wars are made in Europe from a very high authority, a most conservative, but also intelligent authority. An editorial appearing in the London Times sometime ago said: "Who then makes war? The answer is to be found in the chancelleries of Europe among the men who have too long played with human lives as pawns in a game of chess, who have become so enmeshed in formulas and the jargon of diplomacy that they have ceased to be conscious of the poignant realities with which they trifle. And thus will war continue to be made, until the great masses who are the sport of professional schemers and dreamers say the word which shall bring, not eternal peace, for that is impossible, but a determination that wars shall be fought only in a just and righteous and vital cause." Into this maelstrom where a few men play with human lives as pawns, the dreamers, the sentimentalists, not to mention some other classes, would plunge the United States under the attractive banner of cooperation.

In conclusion, our supreme and imperative task is here at home—and it is a task—which many fear we can never successfully meet. Whatever is necessary for the defense of this country and the life and liberty of our people, no true American would withhold. And what we owe to other peoples in promoting the cause of peace, in fostering better understanding through trade and commerce, and in friendly relations, we will doubtless always be ready to admit and to pay in full. But venturing beyond that and permitting ourselves to be drawn into controversies and wars not our own, there is no depth of human misery which such a course may not entail and no calamity to our scheme of government which may not ensue.

FOREIGN POLICIES FOR AMERICA

(Excerpts from an address by former President Herbert Hoover before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on March 31, 1938.)

I found most nations in Europe convinced that we would be inevitably drawn into the next great war as in the last. Some people build confident hope upon it. But every phase of this picture should harden our resolves that we keep out of the other people's wars. Nations in Europe need to be convinced that this is our policy.

Yet we are interested, vitally interested, in peace among other nations. The League of Nations, except as a most useful clearing house of economic and social information, is at least in a coma. Certainly the central idea that peace could be imposed by collective action employing military or economic force, is dead.

But these ideas of collective action now appear in a new form. I find in many quarters of Europe and some in America an insistence that, as democracy is endangered by the rise of dictatorships and authoritarian governments, therefore democracies should join in some sort of mutual undertaking for protective action. These ideas were greatly stimulated and encouraged by the word quarantine from these shores. Such proposals, if sincere, involve more than mere good words. Anything honest in that direction implies the pledge of some sort of military or economic action by the United States with other powers. We may as well be blunt about it.

If we join with the other two powerful democracies, Great Britain and France, we are engaging ourselves in an alliance directed against Germany and Italy and all the satellites they can collect. But we are doing more than this. Great Britain has her own national and imperial problems and policies. Any commitment of ourselves will mean that we are dragged into these policies. France has her own special alliances and her own policies, including an alliance with communist Russia. We would be supporting Stalin.

But more than all this, we would be fostering the worst thing that can happen to civilization, that is, the building up of a war between government faiths or ideologies. Such a combination of democracies would at once result in combining the autocracies against the democracies. It could have all the hideous elements of old religious wars.

We should have none of it. If the world is to keep the peace, then we must keep peace with dictatorships as well as with popular governments. The forms of government which other peoples pass through in working out their destinies are not our business. You will recollect that we were once animated by a desire to save the world for democracy. The only result that time was to sow dragons' teeth which sprang up into dictatorships. We can never herd the world into the paths of righteousness with the dogs of war.

While we should reject the whole idea of pledging our milatary or economic forces to any scheme for preserving peace by making war, we have both the obligation and the interest to organize and join in the collective moral forces to prevent war.

I know I will be told again that moral forces do not weigh much in a world of soldiers and battleships. But the greatest force for peace is still the public opinion of the world. That is a moral force. I will be told again that it has no weight. But I found everywhere an anxiety for the approval of world opinion. Every consequential nation supports at great expense a propaganda bureau for that purpose. The dictatorships especially devote themselves to it.

And why? Because the desire of nations for the good opinion of mankind is not dead. Secretary Hull's eloquent denunciation of international lawlessness was echoed in every newspaper in the world. Decency is still news.

I believe there are methods by which the moral forces for peace and international cooperation for progress could be better organized than they are today. At this moment of despair in the world the problems of armament and economic degeneration press dreadfully for solution.

There is a measure for very modest but long-view action by our government that could bring great benefits to us and to other nations. It would serve to reduce greatly the area of frictions upon our war debt problem. After the armistice we established credits for reconstruction and food to Poland, Belgium, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Only Finland has staunchly maintained these payments. The others are awaiting the action of the large war debtors. There are likely to be difficulties over these matters for years to come.

I believe we should consider suggesting to these relief credit countries as distinguished from the war credit countries a readjustment of the debts and—

That each of them make these payments into a fund in their own country in their own currencies.

That this fund be used for extension of higher education, scientific research for scholarships in their own universities; also for exchange of post-graduate students, professors and scientific information between the United States and that country.

That these funds are to be administered jointly by Americans and their nationals.

There will thus be created a joint interest with us from which we will generate benefits far greater than we will otherwise receive. The cumulative effect over the years of building up a great body of influential men and women in those countries who would understand our country and believe in us would count greatly both in economic relations and in times of international emergency. And we shall have made a contribution to civilization which may be of no quick material value but which will serve as a great monument to our foresight.

In summary, in the larger issues of world relations, our watchwords should be absolute independence of political action and adequate preparedness. That course will serve the world best. It will serve our interests best. It will serve free men best.

In the field of international business we have much to think about. The prosperity of nations is the best antidote for the poisons of fear and hate. But that prosperity will be sadly limited as long as the present barriers to trade continue. They grow worse every month, and they directly affect our American workers and farmers every week.

I must amplify what I have already said as to these barriers. In these present day barriers the old-fashioned tariff plays but a minor part. The infinitely more potent system of quotas, exchange restrictions and internal control of the buyer, erect a solid wall against imports. This wall is opened only through government-controlled gates, for specified commodities from specified countries. It matters little how low the tariff of a foreign nation may be if our American producers cannot obtain permission to move goods through the gates of the quota or to obtain payment in our own currency for the goods. Nor are these new barriers limited to the despotisms. They are increasingly in use in European democracies as well.

At this moment our exports to over 300,000,000 people in Europe meet barriers far more potent than tariffs. And to another 200,000,000 they are partly controlled outside of tariffs. These additional trade barriers now affect nearly half of the world's commerce.

When we examine these barriers we find that they have developed both offensive and defensive characteristics. Their main purpose is to force self-sufficiency in internal production. That is partly a measure of military defense. It is partly a measure to solve money exchange difficulties arising from unbalanced budgets with their unstable currencies. Moreover, when governments undertake planned economy by managed currency production, wages and prices, they must also control both imports and exports.

In other words, one of the consequences of planned economy is to place foreign trade more and more in the hands of the government. Thus this part of world commerce is steadily degenerating into one more implement of military and political policy.

Equal treatment of nations has been largely abandoned under these new devices. Quotas are being assigned between nations for other considerations, such as political affinity or credit advantages. For instance, the quota for automobile tire imports recently has been traded around among European nations almost to our total exclusion. I fear the reciprocity treaties in mutual lowering of tariffs will work out a one-way road under the practices of these new barriers. Some part of our workers and farmers who have been accustomed to produce goods for export are going to be out of a job so long as these practices last.

There are four alternative courses. We can, in an effort to ameliorate our situation, put penalties on the shipment to us of goods from countries whose practices in these ways discriminate against our goods. Or we could take advantage of our vast resources and by more protection establish some self-containment of our own. Or we can assume the fundamental approach to world sanity and trade peace by international cooperation as planned for the conference of 1933. Or we can make up our minds to keep a part of our people on relief for a long time.

My own conviction is that the world muddle of unstable currencies has more to do with the maintenance of these artificial trade barriers than any other one factor. If the problem is to be corrected fundamentally on an international scale, it must be approached ultimately at this point.

It is probable that courageous discussion and action among a group of nations might be an entering wedge to the jam of barriers. Gradually the trade of the world might be reestablished from such nucleus. And these questions are not economic abstractions. They create or destroy the jobs and the happiness of millions of our people.

The third of our attitudes which I wish further to discuss is our American relationship to the vast ferment of new and old social philosophies which boil furiously throughout the world. The wholesale eclipse of democracy must concern us. Our national mission is to keep alight the lamp of true liberalism. But it is in the United States that we must keep it alight.

Every few centuries the world gives birth to new systems of government and life. Or it resurrects old systems under new phrases. In any event, they mostly revolve around two old and diametrically opposed concepts—that the development of the individual is the prime purpose of the state or the individual is the pawn of the state. On one hand the individual possesses rights and on the other he does not; in the one concept the state is the organized expression of the will of individuals within it, in the other the individual is but the transient property of the state.

True liberalism is not a mere middle ground between fascism and socialism. Both fascism and socialism hold to the other concept—that the individual is but the pawn of an all-wise, omnipotent state. Liberalism has no compromise with either of these two forms of the same concept.

Let no man believe in either of two popular misapprehensions so widespread in this country today. This philosophy of communism is not imposed, suddenly, new born, from the bottom up. And this thing called fascism is not imposed, suddenly, new born, from the top down. Both grew in prepared soils. Both are the aftermath of a gradual infection of democracy, a gradual perversion of true liberalism.

And let me again repeat that democracies are first infected by the plausible notions of "cure the business slump" through so-called economic planning. Every step in this direction requires another. Every step further demoralizes free economy. And step by step more force and coercion must be applied until all liberty—economic and personal and political—is lost.

Let no man mistake that we in America have until now avoided the infection of these European systems. If our own so-called planned economy is not an infection from the original stream of fascism it is at least a remarkable coincidence.

The leader of German fascism in a speech last week hurled the taunt to democracies that "not a single decent nation has died for the sake of democratic formalities." To the extent that races do not actually die because they forfeit individual liberty, that may be true. But what is

far more important is that when true liberty dies then justice and truth die. And intellectual progress and morality die too.

I have no doubt that fascism will fail some time, just as Marxian socialism has failed already. The stifling of intellectual progress, the repression of the spirit of men, the destruction of initiative and enterprise will offset all the efficacies of planned economy. Even economic life cannot succeed where criticism has disappeared and where individual responsibility is constantly shirked for fear of the state. Even the fascist countries' liberal ideas are not dead and will not be downed. Every despotism today lives with fear of liberty at its heart——or there would be no concentration camps.

And I may add that, having listened in many countries to eulogies of planned economy and fascism and of their benefits to the common man, I detected in every case the hope that some day liberty might return. The spirits of Luther, Goethe, of Schiller, of Mazzini and Garibaldi are not dead.

Moreover there has been nothing shown me in Europe in elimination of wastes or better housing or security to workers or farmers or old age that we cannot do better under democracy if we will. Though I had little need for confirmation in my faith, I pray God that this nation may keep its anchors firmly grounded in intellectual liberty and spiritual freedom. These values can be preserved only by keeping government from the first pitfall of direction or participation in economic life—except that it shall sternly repress, by due process of law but not by edict, every abuse of liberty and honesty.

The protection of democracy is that we live in it, that we revitalize it within our own borders, that we keep it clean of infections, that we wipe out its corruptions, that we incessantly fight its abuses, that we insist upon intellectual honesty, that we build its morals, that we keep out of war.

That is the greatest service that this nation can give to the future of humanity.

WOULD WE FIGHT IN EUROPE?

(An address by Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy, delivered at the Pilgrims Dinner in London on March 18, 1938, as carried in Vital Speeches of the Day, volume 4, pages 354-356, April 1, 1938.)

In taking up my duties here, I am moved by one prime consideration. That is, that we, of all peoples in the world, must be frank and straightforward with each other. I conceive it to be my duty to tell you, individually and collectively, as accurately as I possibly can, what is in the minds and hearts of my countrymen. I hope to be able to tell the people of the United States, with equal freedom and honesty, what the people of Great Britain want and intend. At this juncture of world affairs, it strikes me, the usual diplomatic niceties are not enough. I could talk to you for hours about the common heritage and the glorious traditions of the English speaking peoples, but I believe we have come to take those things for granted. Our two countries enjoy a relationship which is unique

among the nations of the world. We should profit by that relationship. Few other nations can discuss their affairs without a mental reservation that war between them may one day be the deciding factor. We are not compelled to weigh our words and actions in order to consider how they would affect our respective positions in the event of a conflict between us. Let us, therefore, avoid loose thinking, and shun the use of subterfuge.

We are friends, and as friends we should always be able to speak plainly, knowing that there can arise between us no misunderstanding that plain speaking will not clear away. In that spirit, I feel that I should remind you of certain factors in American life which have a greater influence than some of you may realize on my countrymen's attitude toward the outside world. We might just as well realize, at the outset, that the average American has little interest in the details of foreign affairs. One reason for this lack of interest is found in the ethnical and geographical peculiarities of our country. Our distinguished chairman, by reason of his visits to the United States and his wide acquaintance there, appreciates the conditions to which I refer, I am sure. To give some picture of the situation to those who have less personal knowledge of the extent and variety of our country, I can only ask them to visualize that the entire British Empire were placed on one continent—on contiguous territory. All of the endless combinations one could imagine would be clamoring for sectional treatment. Group interests would be, or would appear to be, conflicting with each other and with the general interest. I think you will all agree that it would be difficult, under such conditions to evolve any hard and fast foreign policy.

Obviously, another factor of great importance at the present time is our own economic situation. As you know, we have by no means solved our internal difficulties. The every-day business of making a living has recently become harder for our people, following a period in which they had begun to breathe a bit more easily. The ordinary American, the man in the street, whose collective thinking we describe as public opinion, has his mind primarily on domestic matters these days. The recession has again focused attention on the unemployment problem. The average man wants to know whether he will be able to keep his job and his savings. The possibility of losing job and savings is of immediate and visible interest to him, whereas international developments, regardless of their importance, appear to be vague and far away. When I was chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington, one of the first things I had to do was to make a comprehensive study of the operation of the various exchanges and speculative activities of our country. I learned, among other things, that speculation in foreign exchange is almost non-existent in the United States. The arbitrage dealers and the skilled professionals have this field practically to themselves. Many of you know better than I how different is the situation on the continent. There, in addition to professional operators, thousands of merchants, large and small, are forced to speculate in foreign exchange as a normal part of their business. Even the general public—the barber, the bootblack, the taxicab driver—will occasionally take a fling at foreign exchange dealing.

As they speculate, or back their individual judgments, they are forced to take an active and continuing interest in the affairs of the country in whose currency they are dealing. This is only one small aspect of the differing values the people of Europe and the United States place on relations with their neighbors. Over here, men's minds inevitably incline toward their neighbor's affairs. In my country this is not true and our collective interest in other nations is correspondingly less. The recent development of policy in the United States which has aroused widespread public interest, and which might be said to have some connection with the world situation, was President Roosevelt's decision to build up the country's naval strength. People understand battleships. They may not know or care about the exchange of notes or other diplomatic formalities, but they do know about warships. There they are. They can see them; they have to pay for them; their children serve on them. Moreover, to most people a battleship is synonymous with war. Why, they ask themselves, is it necessary to build these costly engines of destruction if we are not contemplating war? Does the President know of some danger which is not apparent to the ordinary citizen? The frequent repetition of queries such as these shows us that the average American today has two worries. He fears he may lose his job and he fears his country may get into a war. Many of us understand perfectly his reactions and we must take them into account.

Our secretary of state, Mr. Cordell Hull, has lately declared that the "Preservation of peace is the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the United States." In that statement he was thoroughly sincere and he spoke the mind of his fellow countrymen. Let there be no doubt whatever on that score. The United States desires peace, not only for itself but for the rest of the world. My country is willing to do more than merely talk about peace. It would be glad to join and encourage any nation or group of nations in a peace program based on economic recovery, limitation of armaments and a revival of the sanctity of international commitments. We in the United States believe these three steps must be taken before permanent peace is assured. At the same time we realize that there are grave obstacles to the achievement of such a program, and so most Americans are waiting to see how events develop outside of their own borders. They can hardly be expected to take an active part in support of procedures based on other principles than those which have guided them thus far. As a result, our people do not see how we could usefully participate in some of the adjustments of international relations now taking place in various parts of the world. Nations, like men, do not consider undertaking business transactions unless they are convinced a common interest exists. We are careful and wary—and I think rightly so—in the relationships we establish with foreign countries. It would be better for all of us if this traditional American attitude were more clearly understood. Nothing constructive can be built on false hopes and false fears. We believe it is wise to make clear that any stand the American people take will be based primarily on the fundamental and firm ground of national interest, which is the soundest basis for relations between nations. With

this sort of public opinion behind them, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull and other officials of the government have lately been trying to make the country's position clear to the rest of the world.

We very much hope that no misapprehension will arise as to the role we are expected to play, as contrasted with the part in which we have cast ourselves. It must be realized that the great majority of Americans oppose any entangling alliances. Most Americans insist that their country retain its independent and unmortgaged judgment as to the merits of world crises as and when they arise. This viewpoint has dominated the whole foreign policy of the United States and it endures to this day. My country is unwilling to bind itself to any course of action in the future without an opportunity to examine the situation in the light which then envelopes it. It seems to me, to judge from conflicting and contradictory reports which reach us from abroad, that this attitude of the United States is not well understood. In some quarters, it has been interpreted to mean that our country would not fight under any circumstances short of actual invasion. That is not accurate, in my opinion, and it is a dangerous sort of misunderstanding to be current just now. Others seem to imagine that the United States could never remain neutral in the event a great war should unhappily break out. That, I believe, is just as dangerously conceived a misapprehension as the other. Both of these points of view have been expressed in Congress and elsewhere during the three years that our neutrality legislation has been under debate. But they emanate only from the extreme partisans on either side. The majority of our people, I believe, prefer the middle ground, as the secretary said yesterday.

We have no way of knowing what position the United States would take under circumstances which cannot now be foreseen. Where the present interests of Great Britain and the United States meet is in the prevention of this generally feared war. In our country, we refuse as yet to believe that war is inevitable. We prefer to believe that the common sense of the peoples of the world will prevent it. Therefore, we do not approach world affairs in a spirit of fatalism. Nevertheless if the nations should again become engulfed in the cataclysm of a general war, we should make ourselves very strong and then pursue whatever course we considered to be best for the United States. That is the policy we have followed in the past. It will undoubtedly be our policy in the future. The American people are appalled by the prospect of war as it is now waged. We cannot see how armed conflict can be expected to settle any problem or bring happiness and contentment to any nation. There certainly was no winner in the World War, we can all see that now. If another general conflict should unhappily break out, the resulting destruction of manpower and painfully accumulated capital wealth would bankrupt the world to a point where a new civilization and a new form of society would have to be slowly and haltingly evolved—something of which we have no conception today. In the United States, we want to preserve our present system by adding only such modifications as are needed from time to time to make it function more broadly in the general welfare. To President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull there appears to be a remedy for the present impasse in world affairs. They call it economic peace. It is no panacea, to be

sure. It is, moreover, difficult of realization, but it seems to offer ultimate hope of achieving a rational and enduring solution. As we all know, Great Britain and the United States are even now trying to take a step together in that direction. This is an aspect of international relations in which America is prepared to take an active interest. We are acutely concerned with better economic relationships with the rest of the world and we have, I believe, amply demonstrated our willingness to collaborate with any nation willing to do business on a fair, non-discriminatory basis.

We regard the economic rapprochement of the nations as imperative. Economic appeasement, in addition to its external aspect, means a higher standard of living for the workers of the world and a consequent reduction in those external pressures which all too frequently lead to war. In seeking to enlarge the flow of international trade, we must take care that our efforts are sufficiently broad. We must bear in mind that some stimulation of industrial production has been caused by the rearmament program. Such stimuli cannot last indefinitely and we must now make economic provision for taking up the slack which may one day result. Modern science has placed prosperity within reach of all. It is a pity that we cannot learn to utilize, for the benefit of the people of every land, the marvelous facilities at our command. The great advantage of economic peace, it appears to us, is that it is not based on coercion. It springs from the normal desire of individuals to trade with each other beyond the limits of their own frontiers. People must have the will to exchange goods and services to their mutual advantage, for the improvement of their own standards of living. The essence of that kind of trade is peace. You cannot run down a customer with a bayonet. You cannot force people to buy things. If people trade with you, they probably like you and have no thought of killing you. If the nations of the world would trade liberally and naturally among themselves a new kind of security would be born, a security based on intelligent self-interest and not on force. Conditions vary in different parts of the world.

In your country, you have apparently achieved a substantial degree of recovery, so far as an outsider can judge. Our country has likewise made considerable progress upward from the low point of the depression. These accomplishments, on both sides of the Atlantic, have been gratifying, but we must not relax our efforts. I think that no one of us would assert that we are out of the economic woods. Taxation has long weighed heavily on you here and it is a great burden in the United States. Expenditures for public works, armaments, unemployment relief and kindred items continue almost unabated in both nations. These things cannot continue indefinitely. Sounder, more lasting methods must be found of assuring security to the average citizen that his job will remain his and that what he has accumulated by patient self-denial will not be swept away. On these counts, the efforts of all the governments in the world—not alone our two—have been thus far only partially successful. That is why Mr. Hull took occasion to remind the American people, on the fifth anniversary of his service as secretary of state, that "the economic well-being of the people is the greatest single protection against social unrest, civil strife and war." The foreign relations of the United States are based

on the good neighbor policy. This policy merely applies to international relationships, the ordinary, decent principles which men employ in their dealings with each other as individuals. The good neighbor realizes that he lives near someone and that his life is closely bound up with his neighbor's, by mere propinquity if not by deeper considerations. He tries to adapt his activities and the exercise of his rights to the possibly conflicting rights of his neighbor. But he does this only on the condition that his neighbor extend the same consideration to him. Good neighborship is not a one-way street.

The decline in what may be called international morality has alarmed our people in recent years. One's faith in such collective ventures as the pact of Paris and the nine-power treaty is bound to be shaken when some of the most influential signatories refuse to be bound by the terms of the agreements. My country has decided that it must stand on its own feet, at least until regard for treaty obligations has again become fashionable. As a prudent guardian of his country's safety, President Roosevelt has urged a rearmament program. In doing so, he stated specifically that he knew of no one quarter from which danger is to be expected. He was actuated only by the obvious state of the world around us and the very apparent uncertainties of the future. His recommendation did not mean, by any stretch of the imagination, that he believes a general war to be inevitable. It was intended merely as a precautionary move in a time of general stress. The United States has no intention of attacking anyone. It does not expect to be attacked. It is now, and intends to remain, on friendly terms with every country in the world. If the force of events should make it impossible for us to follow this policy, my country will decide, when the time comes, what to do to preserve the welfare of its own citizens. We expect that the rest of the world will do likewise. But surely it is not too much to hope that the collective intelligence of our two countries, together with that of the other nations, will seek and find a sure, permanent road to universal prosperity and peace.

DON'T BET ON BRITAIN

(Excerpts from an article by Quincy Howe in the Twelfth Annual Debate Handbook, 1938-1939, edited by Bower Aly, volume 1, pages 113-124.)

The case for an Anglo-American alliance stands or falls on the answers we give to the two following questions. In the first place, have the United States and Great Britain enough common interests on which to base an alliance? In the second place, can such an alliance further these interests? To ask these questions is to answer them. Few nations on earth have fewer interests in common than the United States and Great Britain and any alliance that might be made between them could lead to nothing but disaster for all concerned.

Consider the position of Great Britain in the modern world. The inhabitants of the British Isles import half their food supply from abroad; they depend on foreign countries for sixteen of the eighteen critical raw materials their industries require; they export 30% of all they produce.

But the rulers of Great Britain have turned this position of economic dependence on the outer world to political advantage. Britain was the first country to industrialize itself, to establish the factory system of production. Ever since the 18th century it has sold the products of this factory system to the entire world at lower prices and in greater volume than any other country. During these 200 years Great Britain also built up the largest overseas empire in the world. Today Britain rules over one quarter of the earth's surface and one quarter of the earth's inhabitants. Nor is this all. In addition to its overseas empire Britain owns twenty billion dollars' worth of foreign investments, many of them in countries that are not under British rule.

The British Empire reached the zenith of its territorial expansion in 1919 when it took over the lion's share of Germany's colonial possessions. From then on Britain has been sitting on top of the world and has no place to go but down. For the history of the British Empire in the past twenty years has not been a history of further expansion but a history of exclusively defensive operations. Furthermore, the British Empire finds itself threatened from many different quarters.

During the century of its greatest prosperity, from the Battle of Waterloo to the first World War, the chief threat to the British Empire came from rival imperial systems. Russia, France, and Germany all came into conflict with Great Britain at one time or another because they too were attempting to expand in the same parts of the world that Britain wanted to control. But it was not until 1914 that the final bloody showdown arrived between the Austro-Hungarian-German-Turkish combine on the one hand and the Anglo-Franco-Russian-Italian combine on the other.

The world of 1938 bears little resemblance to the world of 1914. In 1914 rival imperial interests dominated the world scene. It is true that the czarist regime in Russia had a serious revolution on its hands in 1905; it is true that the Chinese overthrew the Manchu Empress in 1911 and set up a nominal republic; it is true that nationalist agitators in India were demanding an end of British rule. It is also true that the labor movement and socialist doctrines had made considerable headway inside the chief imperialist nations of Europe—Britain, France, and Germany. But no imperialist nation—and Britain least of all—concerned itself primarily with the threat of social revolution or colonial insurrection.

Today the world wears a different aspect. The Russian revolution of 1917 established the union of socialist soviet republics which now contain one hundred and eighty million people and cover one sixth of the earth's surface. The Chinese Revolution of 1924-27 drove foreigners from the interior of the country and left a strong communist movement that has become increasingly important since Japan's latest invasion. In 1930 Mahatma Ghandi's mass campaign of non-violent non-cooperation won India a new constitution. In 1931 a revolution in Spain overthrew Alphonso and led, in 1936, to bloody civil war. In 1933 Hitler came into power on a wave of middle-class revolt, directed in part against the Weimar republic and in part against the communist and socialist movements which had the support of more than 40% of the German people. Even England

has not been spared social disturbances: in 1926 the country was tied up for nine days with a general strike and three years later the labor party won more seats in the house of commons than any other group and almost gained an outright majority.

All these developments show that during the past twenty years new forces have appeared in the world, forces that threaten the existence of the British Empire just as much as Germany did in 1914. Furthermore, since 1931 another offensive against Great Britain has been launched from another quarter. Japan's invasion of Manchuria which seemed at the time a local affair has since developed into an assault on all of China and has threatened British trade and British investments in the far east. Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia has endangered Britain's position in the Mediterranean and in Africa. Hitler's seizure of Austria may have given Germany complete control of Europe. Finally, Italy, Germany, and Japan have banded together in a so-called "Anti-Communist Pact" which is just as capable of being turned against Great Britain as it is of being turned against communism.

What all this boils down to is that the British Empire finds itself threatened from several different quarters. There is the threat of social revolution inside India, inside China, even inside the British Isles. There is the threat of national revolution from the middle classes of China and the middle classes of India. There is the threat of Japanese imperialism in Asia and the threat of German and Italian imperialism—now known as fascism—in Europe. The result is that British statesmanship constantly has to make concessions and compromises. No longer can it point to one country, one movement, and declare, "There is the enemy," as it did when Germany invaded Belgium in 1914. It is now threatened by enemies on every side and if it fights one of its foes it aids another.

Let me illustrate. When the Japanese marched into Manchuria in 1931, the British did not welcome the prospect of a more powerful Japanese Empire. But Japan's conquest of Manchuria seemed, at the time, a lesser evil than a communist China. For the Nanking government of China, headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was so busy trying to exterminate Chinese communists that it did not fight the Japanese at all; in fact the Japanese announced that one of their purposes in invading Manchuria was to crush communism. As time passed, however, both Chiang Kai-shek and the British became convinced that the Japanese were more dangerous than the communists. While the Japanese were muscling all foreigners out of those sections of China they had conquered, the leaders of the communist international in Moscow announced that communists would support liberal democracy against fascism. In consequence, the Chinese communists joined forces with Chiang Kai-shek, subordinating themselves to his command in the struggle against Japanese aggression. It is hardly to be supposed that the British welcomed the support of those same communists who, ten years before, had been driving the foreigner out of China. But just as Japanese imperialism seemed a lesser evil than Chinese communism in 1931, so, in 1938, Chinese communism seems a lesser evil than Japanese imperialism. But the British can regain their holdings in China only if the Japanese and the communists exhaust themselves fighting to a draw.

In the Ethiopian and Spanish wars British policy pursued the same course. Britain did not welcome the prospect of an Italian victory in Ethiopia; but an Ethiopian victory would have been even worse. Therefore the British government paid lip-service to the idea of "steady and collective resistance to aggression" while at the same time it tried to make a deal that would have turned most of Ethiopia over to Italy. When that fell through, however, Britain failed to close the Suez Canal or stop oil shipments to Italy, either of which moves would have stopped the invasion cold. Mussolini's final victory put him in a position to cut the British trade route to India and to shut off the water supply from Britain's cotton fields in the Sudan. Yet bad as this was, an Ethiopian victory would have been even worse since such an outcome would have dealt a dangerous blow to white prestige throughout the colonial world, especially among the four hundred million dark-skinned people who live under British rule. As in China, the British hoped for a stalemate, but a stalemate was one thing that did not result.

Whether the Spanish war will end in a clear-cut victory for one side or the other remains to be seen. But in Spain, too, the British have been faced with the same choice between evils that confronted them in China and Ethiopia. A victory for General Franco can hardly fail to strengthen the position of Italy—and perhaps of Germany—in the Mediterranean. A victory for the loyalists, on the other hand, can hardly fail to strengthen the revolutionary movement throughout the world since the loyalists not only include Spanish socialists, communists, and anarchists; they also have the support of radical groups in other countries. The soviet union in particular has poured military supplies and technical advisers into loyalist Spain.

Without openly supporting General Franco and shipping supplies to him as the Germans and Italians have done, the British have nevertheless favored the insurgent rather than the loyalist cause from the start. The non-intervention committee, headed by Lord Plymouth and located in London, has put no serious obstacles in the way of Italy and Germany when those countries shipped men and munitions to Franco; it has, however, prevented the loyalists from receiving that outside aid to which legal governments are customarily entitled. But in the Spanish war more than in any other scene of conflict Britain is working primarily for a stalemate and an opportunity to act the part of arbitrator.

Reviewing the three chief international crises since 1930 we begin to get a clear view of Britain's aims and methods. The primary interest of the British Empire is to maintain the *status quo* throughout the world. It stands to lose from almost any kind of change almost anywhere on earth. But since change of some sort or other appears to be the order of the day, Britain prefers in a pinch to support the anti-revolutionary forces, even at the expense of democracy against fascism. True, Britain has not remained consistently and completely friendly toward Italy, Germany, and Japan. During the past year, for example, British diplomats have supported the League of Nations in its efforts to aid the Chinese with the result that Chiang Kai-shek has been able to purchase supplies from Great Britain whereas the Spanish loyalists are excluded from the British

market. But the Anglo-Italian agreement of April, 1938, recognizing the conquest of Ethiopia and calling for a Franco victory in Spain, indicates that on the whole British diplomacy tends to support fascist aggression rather than any cause with which socialists, communists, anarchists, and other exponents of social revolution have identified themselves.

Because of this pro-German, pro-Italian, pro-fascist tendency which became especially pronounced when Anthony Eden resigned as foreign secretary, many persons have jumped to the conclusion that an Anglo-American alliance might involve the United States in active support of Italy, Germany, and Japan and perhaps in actual war against the soviet union. Certainly there is a powerful group in England which would like nothing better than to support a vast international coalition and use Germany and Japan as the two spearheads for an attack on soviet territory. Glyn Roberts, a British communist, has written a biography entitled *The Most Powerful Man in the World*, which describes the life of Sir Henri Deterding founder of the mighty Royal-Dutch Shell oil trust and which shows that during the past twenty years certain influential British interests have steadily conspired against the soviet union. Some of these interests have the ear of Neville Chamberlain and their aim is to wipe out socialism in Russia and at the same time open up Russia's vast resources of petroleum, minerals, and other natural resources to foreign exploitation.

One may doubt that men like Sir Henri Deterding will actually succeed in creating an anti-soviet coalition; one may also doubt that such a coalition would achieve its objective; one cannot doubt, however, that plans for such a coalition exist and have even made some progress. But there are also powerful forces pulling in the opposite direction. Winston Churchhill, who is certainly no bolshevik, urges that Britain stand with France and the soviet union against the greater danger of nazi Germany. Lloyd George, the great liberal leader, takes the same view. Both these men are spokesmen for the British Intelligence Service—an arm of the Council of Imperial Defense—and we may therefore assume that the British army, navy and air force look upon Germany rather than the soviet union as Britain's ultimate enemy. Finally, in view of the widespread sympathy for the soviet union in the ranks of British labor and the widespread revulsion against Hitler in all classes, it would be more difficult to line up Great Britain on the German than on the Russian side, no matter what "the most powerful man in the world" might like.

All in all, then, it would be just as much a mistake to assume that the British Empire is solidly "pro-fascist" as it would be to assume that it is solidly "pro-democratic." The fact of the matter is that its real rulers are pro-imperialist and would like to defend their stake in the world against all comers. But the empire is being attacked *from three directions at once.* From one quarter—the workers and peasants of every land—comes the danger of social revolution. From another quarter—the rising middle-classes of the colonial countries—comes the threat of national revolution against foreign imperialist rule. From a third quarter—the German-Italian-Japanese combine—comes the threat of a rival imperialist bloc that wants to take over Britain's present holdings.

Since 1931 the British Empire has tried vainly to protect itself against this triple threat to its existence. To check one enemy it has aided another with the result that Hitler has armed himself to the teeth, Mussolini has made the Mediterranean an Italian lake, and Japan has acquired a new empire in Asia. Yet Britain refuses to support the one combination of powers that has been willing to offer effective resistance to these encroachments; in fact Neville Chamberlain has done his best to wreck the Franco-soviet pact, to break up Czechoslovakia's alliances with France and the soviet union, to destroy the little entente of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. For if Britain had supported France, the soviet union, Czechoslovakia, and the other small states of central Europe against Germany, that would not only have strengthened the soviet union; it would (in the opinion of British statesmen) have strengthened the communist movement throughout the world.

In 1936 when Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland, the German general staff was convinced that the French would bring military and economic measures to bear against them. They knew that in any showdown Germany did not have a chance and would have to withdraw. But the French did nothing. They knew that Britain would not support them; and the last chance to check Hitler without a general European war went by. Today an Anglo-Franco-soviet alliance might stop Hitler but the fear that a general war might follow prevents such an alliance from taking form. Furthermore, even today, most British tories would rather see Hitler dominate eastern and central Europe than make common cause with Russia. One way out remains. Only an alliance with the United States can preserve what Britain has been powerless to preserve up to now—the *status quo* throughout the world. To stop communism *and* fascism, to prevent *either* the Japanese imperialists *or* the Chinese nationalists from dominating China, to preserve British rule over one quarter of the earth's surface and one quarter of its inhabitants—that is the aim of any Anglo-American alliance today.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN FRONT

(An article by Raymond L. Buell in the Christian Science Monitor, volume 29, pages 1-2, 16, weekly magazine section, November 10, 1938.)

As a result of the present crisis in the orient, a number of voices insist that Anglo-American cooperation is the only realistic means of checking the trend toward world anarchy. Many intellectual and business leaders, not to mention people in high political position, believe that the enormous military and economic strength which Britain and America potentially command, should resist further inroads of aggressive dictatorships. Some of those who at one time supported the idea of a universal League of Nations now believe that, in a world torn by conflicting ideologies and almost insoluble conflicts of national interests, the only realistic cooperation is that between Britain and America. Others, who did not subscribe to the league idea, now openly support a British-American alliance as the only alternative to neutrality.

A realistic examination, however, of the possibility of Anglo-American cooperation in the orient will raise many objections. In the first place,

while there is a group which favors Anglo-American cooperation, there is a vociferous band in America afflicted with a severe case of Anglophobia. To this latter group, any proposal of positive cooperation with the league or otherwise is a "sly plot" to induce America to pull British chestnuts out of the fire. For a time the settlement of the Irish question weakened somewhat the strength of the Anglophobe school which has flourished through history. But the war debt default, the Ottawa agreements, the Hoar-Laval deal of Britain, the failure of Britain to back Mr. Stimson in 1931 or to make a trade treaty with the United States, have increased the ammunition in its hands. The intervention of the United States in the orient will only serve the imperial interests of Britain, this school says. The arresting title of an otherwise unimportant book, "England Expects Every American to do his Duty," expresses the suspicion of a group more vocal than, if not as numerous as, those who believe in full Anglo-American cooperation.

As far as the present crisis in the orient is concerned, the isolationist tradition of America, which reached its height in the neutrality act of May 1937 also will work against Anglo-American cooperation. If the United States desires now to adopt a positive policy, along the lines of the President's Chicago speech, Britain will inevitably point out to the United States that the British fleet cannot be moved from the Mediterranean so long as the present European crisis lasts; and that if the United States wishes to assume an equal responsibility, it should undertake to police the Pacific.

Many Americans do not realize that Britain is bearing a major part of the burden of maintaining the peace of Europe today, and certainly they would recoil from any suggestion that their own government assume, virtually single-handed, responsibility for checking the aggressions of Japan. At a time when neither Britain nor France, despite their mutual solidarity, is willing to use force to protect what at one time would have been regarded as "vital" interests along the Rhine and in the Mediterranean, America cannot be expected to run the risk of a single-handed clash with Japan over interests much more remote.

This same unwillingness to risk a clash with Japan placed a difficulty in the way of the nine-power pact conference at Brussels. American opinion was unfavorable even to the application of economic sanctions. Britain, America, and Holland together could impose an embargo which would severely hamper Japan but powers entering into a concerted embargo policy will inevitably ask in return the protection of a mutual security pact. It is conceivable, even if improbable, that once an international embargo is implied, Japan in desperation would attempt to seize the Dutch East Indies in order to obtain oil. To preclude such an eventuality, it is only logical for the Netherlands and Britain to ask the United States and other powers for a pledge of mutual resistance.

While any government believing in collective security should be willing to give such a pledge, it will be difficult for the Roosevelt administration to do so in the present mood of the American people, many of whom do not believe in running the risk of a clash with any foreign foe, no matter

what the issue may be. This does not mean that if the nine-power conference fails to restore peace or if Japan continues its aggressions in the orient, American public opinion will not move toward a sanctionist position. But if the United States imposes sanctions, it will be as a result of a decision independently arrived at and unaccompanied by pledges of military support.

In view of those considerations it would seem clear that Anglo-American cooperation in the politico-military field is out of the question in time of peace. It is not so clear whether the United States will again enter a general war in which Britain is fighting a losing battle. The forces opposing such entrance will probably be greater than in 1917. Nevertheless, if the principles of the neutrality act continue to exist—namely, refusing to protect American ships and commercial interests upon the high seas—Britain will be able, without arousing American antagonism, to commit the same type of acts against which the state department so vigorously protested between 1915-17. The paradoxical result of the neutrality act may be, therefore, to clear away one obstacle which prevented America from entering the war against Germany sooner than it actually did.

Some Americans, moreover, are coming to realize that whatever its past defects may be, the British Empire today is an institution which is gradually molding both white and colored peoples along the lines of liberalism and self-government, and that the empire constitutes a shield protecting the western hemisphere from attack. It is not hard to show that the invasion of the Americas is extremely difficult; but should Britain begin to crack as a result of the aggressions of fascist powers, many powerful voices in America will demand our entrance into a war to safeguard the principle of liberalism and to remove a growing sense of insecurity. The formidable navy and air force of the United States, which may be augmented in the future, together with the gauntlet thrown down to the dictatorships by the President in his Chicago speech, no doubt encourage England to believe that when a final showing comes, America will be at its side. But England will make a mistake should it assume that such support would automatically be forthcoming.

There are only two fields where Anglo-American cooperation remains possible—the first being in the economic realm. The financial difficulties between the two countries have virtually disappeared; and the equalization funds of the two governments seem to be working together in complete harmony. But the problems of the inter-allied debt and the commercial treaty remain. The British government made a serious mistake when it declined to continue the token payment on the debt. This action makes it possible for Anglophobe Americans to insist that Britain respects contracts as little as does Germany or Japan. The debt is not an active issue today, but it can always be revived to block any constructive proposal of cooperation.

Meanwhile the immediate problem is to discover whether a trade agreement can be completed. Today, Washington is far more optimistic over this possibility than it was six months ago. Many difficulties must be overcome, particularly those arising out of the Ottawa agreement. But if the present

plans are carried to success, it is possible that the next six months may see a trade agreement between Britain and America which will be extended to include all of the dominions and a number of other sterling countries, such as Argentina and Uraguay.

The Hull trade program thus expanded would embrace about 80% of the foreign trade of the United States, and the foundations would be laid for an economic association of democratic nations. The United States does not wish to use this association to injure the dictatorships, but it hopes that the economic benefit of such a union will be so great that Germany and Italy will see the wisdom of abandoning autarchy and associating themselves with this low-tariff club. If Britain desires an understanding with America, it can only arise out of the closest economic and financial collaboration, to obtain which Britain must abandon some of the exclusive nationalistic devices which it has adopted during the past few years. For its part, American must put its own internal economy in order. Today the conditions reflected by the stock market show that American economic stability is in danger. What is even more serious, the condition of the New York market may affect the market in London and arrest a recovery which, inspired by a heavy rearmament program, is more precarious than is that recently enjoyed by the United States.

The second real possibility of Anglo-American cooperation arises in connection with the problem of Germany. All other world problems are secondary to that of Germany—a powerful country, having legitimate grievances, which may follow the example of Italy and Japan if a military opportunity arises and if the outside world takes no step to remedy its grievances. There is a heavy responsibility upon the Anglo-Saxon powers to take a diplomatic initiative in finding a peaceful settlement of this German problem before it becomes as acute as the Japanese problem has become in the orient.

No solution of the German problem can avoid the problem of security, and no concessions should be made in the economic or political field unless the equilibrium of military forces will make it more difficult for Germany to tear up treaties than in the past. But within this framework, and in return for entering an arms agreement and rejoining the league, Germany is entitled to economic and financial relief, raw materials, the restoration of certain mandates or other equivalent colonial territory, certain territorial revision, and the improved treatment of minorities. Even if events should prove it is too late for Anglo-American cooperation peacefully to check Japan, a unique opportunity still exists to assist in finding a peaceful answer for the problem of Germany.

ARMAMENTS FOR PEACE

(An editorial in Current History, volume 48, pages 13-14, March, 1938.)

Despite the passive disapproval of a good portion of the citizenry, the administration has decided to arm for peace. Battleships will be built, cannon cast and young men trained—for peace. This may seem contradictory to those who have not yet learned that peace and war have much in common.

And there are many interesting aspects to this domestic armament program. Of greatest interest at present is the justification offered for peaceful arming by the apologists or, as they are commonly known, the expert observers. In the first place their logical minds refuse to believe that behind the armament program lies a pathological fever bordering on mental chaos. To these gentlemen domestic armament for foreign war is but another clearly indicated step in the pursuit of a sound politico-economic foreign policy. The battleships, they point out, are replacements for obsolescent units and not, as many people think, additional reinforcements. Nor will these new battleships be available much before 1942. So it is, we are told, that instead of being a pledge to some future war, the naval building program is in reality an instrument of peace to be cleverly and, of course, irresistibly, manipulated to that end.

Consider the threat of the totalitarian nations to the democracies of the world, the threat of Germany in middle Europe, the threat of Italy in Africa, the threat of Japan in Asia, each and all dissatisfied nations intent upon bettering their positions at all costs. The United States, we are told, must combine with other democracies to meet this threat or prepare to meet it alone. But how? And the apologists for the administration have the answer. In fact we are not only informed that our leaders are at present preparing cannon and bombs, but have already baited and set an economic trap into which Hitler, Mussolini, Hirohito, and perhaps, even Vargas will stumble. Once caught these scourges will then summarily be tried by economic law. It is all very simple.

We are told that the heart, liver, and lungs of the administration's foreign policy is Mr. Hull's reciprocal-trade-treaty program. Recently this policy secured the signing of a British trade treaty. And that treaty —in theory—we are informed, completes the economic trap into which we are going to tumble our enemies. It will work as follows. Suppose Germany for the purpose of securing raw materials on a barter basis, gains political ascendency over a weak-sister nation, and demands from its victim an exclusive trade arrangement. Such an agreement will of course conflict with our reciprocal-trade-treaty policy. Thus the weak-sister nation is forced into a position where it must either choose Germany, a totalitarian nation, or the United States, a democracy. And if it chooses Germany, then automatically it will be deprived (because of our agreement with Britain) of access to two-thirds of the world trade. In view of this, we are told, the ensuing pressure upon the unfortunate nation to break away from Germany's political orbit will be terrific.

But assuming that this theoretical economic trap has been sprung, then isn't it probable that Germany will bare a fang to gobble up the vacillating weak-sister republic? What then? Simple indeed, for in conjunction with Britain, the United States will threaten Germany with superior cannon and battleships. As a result Germany will desist, and willingly appear before an international tribunal where a basis for permanent world peace will be laid on the necks of the totalitarian nations by the victorious democracies. Thus the status quo will be preserved, and the "have-not" nations will have been coerced into a secondary political and economic world position.

Such is the lofty scheme, and as one observer pointed out, a scheme touched with mobility. But even so, can we be assured that Hitler has lost his second sight, that Mussolini is dozing, that Hirohito is asleep in his garden? And are these alleged monsters affrighted more easily today than yesterday? Isn't it more probable that the totalitarian nations will fight rather than submit to pressure, and fight more intelligently than they did in 1914? To assume that free trade is indispensable to these self-contained nations is to blink historical demonstrations of isolation. Of all nations the United States has shown the dispensability of free trade with its fine example of impregnable tariff barriers.

But of primary concern in pursuit of this trapping expedition is the fact that in so doing the administration reverses a historic American policy without first consulting the American people. As reported by the Institute of Public Opinion a majority of 75% of our citizens are still in favor of minding their own business at home. Having rid the world of Kaiserism in 1918 to no avail they are not now interested in ridding the world of fascism. They will not bleed and die for abstract principles which in the tearful aftermath are discovered to have been but disguises for British or French defense of empire, to say nothing of a banker's profit. Nor are they sanguine concerning a new alliance with the old allies. The plutocratic incompetents now ruling Britain are past masters of betrayal, and the French plutocracy has never been without a price. And these facts, the poor misguided American people knew long before Britain betrayed collective security in Ethiopia and in Manchuria.

The people demand the truth from their supposedly informed leaders. If there is, in reality, a yellow peril in the east, and again the threat of the Hun in the west, then by all means let us arm to fight. If no peril exists let us look to an unarmed peace.

THE CASE FOR ISOLATION

(An editorial in the Saturday Evening Post, volume 210, page 22, April 25, 1938. Reprinted by special permission of the Saturday Evening Post, copyright 1938, by the Curtis Publishing Co.)

Nine out of ten Americans believed in isolation as a means of saving us from the greatest catastrophe that afflicts the human race, during the years immediately after the World War and until comparatively recently. But recently isolation has lost a good deal of its appeal as a war preventive. Not only statesmen such as Cordell Hull, powerful newspapers, columnists and editorial writers have renounced the policy. A great many thoughtful citizens, who were for isolation until the stock of totalitarian governments began to boom and the stock of democracies began to slump, doubt the wisdom of isolation today.

The conviction that the United States should join with Great Britain and France and perhaps Russia in some kind of drive for Comrad Stalin's "collective security" and against ruthless force on the march in Europe is growing, even though Great Britain has declined to take any positive action in behalf of the collective security of the British Empire. At this writing, we have not yet heard that we must save the world for democracy once more. But Miss Dorothy Thompson, the columnist, did say that unless we did something along this line by two o'clock, our time, on the afternoon of last March 18th, when Hitler was making a speech, it might be too late to save ourselves, and too bad for everybody. After that crisis passed and the world continued to revolve, others kept on urging action for collective security. So it looks as if we will be hearing the save the world for democracy cry with all its old-time fervor soon again.

The hubbub over collective security aroused by the now or never columnists and others has obfuscated what collective security really means to us, and what isolation means to us. Collective security means, we are told, our participation in collective action to prevent war. But that is not what it really means. If we join with others in trying to prevent those peoples who love dictators and believe in the glory of war, from going to war, we are sending ourselves an invitation to join in the next war. Isolation sounds rude—we won't join up with our neighbors; we're unfriendly. But it means simply that, with the strongest navy in our history to guard our coasts, and an adequate army, we mind our own business and keep out of everybody else's wars just as long as we possibly can.

But the peacemakers say:

"We can't keep out, in the world of today. This modern world is too small, with its ever more rapid communication and transportation. We are too close to the other countries of the world to keep out."

That's theory, and it hasn't been proved. And the folly of preventive wars has been proved. But even if it were true that it is impossible to keep out of the next war, what is wrong with keeping out of it as long as we can?

Victor Hugo said that all men are condemned to death, with an indefinite parole. No well and sane man wants his parole from death to be any shorter than possible. Do we, as a nation, want to shorten our parole from war by trying to stop peoples who want to go to war from fighting other peoples?

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1938-1939

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Vol.	XVIII,	No. 2.	*Anglo-American Alliance.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol.	XVIII,	No. 3.	*Academic Contests for North Carolina High Schools.* Announcement for the year 1938-1939. Free.

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ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

ACADEMIC CONTESTS FOR NORTH CAROLINA HIGH SCHOOLS

ANNOUNCEMENT

Announcement is made in this number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin of the regulations which will govern the following academic contests for North Carolina high schools, to be conducted in the spring of 1939: the fifteenth annual high school Latin contest, the fourteenth annual high school French contest, the fourteenth annual high school Spanish contest, the fourteenth annual high school Mathematics contest, and the second annual high school Physics contest.

By means of these contests the University Extension Division and the several departments concerned of the University of North Carolina hope to render a service to the high schools through an increase in the interest of North Carolina high school students in the field of scholarship, particularly in the study of the designated subjects, Latin, French, Spanish, Mathematics, and Physics. Since these contests were inaugurated, with the first annual high school Latin contest held on February 18, 1925, they have met with a very cordial reception on the part of the high schools of the State. The central committee at the University hopes that the contests will be found helpful by the high schools and that they will prove generally successful this year.

The dates for the holding of these different contests are as follows: Physics contest, February 10; Latin contest, February 17; Spanish contest, March 10; French contest, March 24; and Mathematics contest, April 28.

All accredited North Carolina public high schools are invited to enter the contests. The school officials whose schools plan to enter the contests should notify E. R. Rankin, Secretary, at Chapel Hill, at their earliest convenience regarding the number of pupils whom they will have to enter the different contests.

The attention of school officials and teachers is called to the following general regulations, which will apply to all five of the high school academic contests, and to the special regulations which will govern each particular contest.

GENERAL REGULATIONS

1. The University Extension Division and the several departments concerned of the University of North Carolina will conduct, with the cooperation of participating high schools, contests in the spring of 1939 in Physics, Latin, Spanish, French, and Mathematics for high school students, participation in these contests being open to accredited North Carolina public high schools.

2. The contests will be conducted in all cases under the direct supervision of the superintendents, high school principals, or teachers in the schools.

3. No student who has already been graduated from a high school shall be eligible to participate in the academic contests.

4. It is necessary for all students to be regularly enrolled in their high schools at the time of their participation in the academic contests.

5. The tests in all of these contests will be forwarded from Chapel Hill to the individual schools in sealed envelopes, which are not to be opened until the time when the examinations are given.

6. It will be necessary in each case that the individual student give a pledge stating that no help has been given or received on the test.

Superintendents, principals, or teachers in charge of the contests will give assurance to the committee that the contests have been properly conducted and that all of the regulations and conditions pertaining to the contests have been observed.

THE HIGH SCHOOL PHYSICS CONTEST

1. The contest will take place throughout the State on February 10, 1939.

2. Students who may take part in the Physics contest are limited to members of the sophomore, junior, and senior classes.

3. The examination will cover the topics of mechanics and heat.

4. The individual school will send its papers to the Secretary of the Physics Contest Committee at Chapel Hill by February 15, 1939.

5. The papers from the various high schools will be graded by faculty members of the Department of Physics of the University. Announcement will be made of the school whose student wins first place. Honorable mention will be given to several schools whose students submit next best papers.

6. All schools deciding to enter the Physics contest will notify the committee at Chapel Hill not later than February 6 of their plan to participate and will also notify this committee as to the number of students of the particular high school who will wish to enter the contest.

THE HIGH SCHOOL LATIN CONTEST

1. The contest will take place throughout the State on February 17, 1939.

2. Students who may take part in the Latin contest are limited to members of the sophomore, junior, and senior classes. It is regarded as inadvisable for students to attempt the examination who have not had at least a full year of Latin.

3. This examination will require (1) an ability to translate passages of comparatively easy Latin, will include (2) questions on form and

syntax based on such passages, and will include (3) questions involving a general knowledge of grammar.

4. The individual school will select the best three papers from the total of the papers submitted in the local contest and will send these three papers to the Secretary of the Latin Contest Committee at Chapel Hill by February 24, 1939.

5. The papers, as they are sent in by the various high schools, will be graded by faculty members of the Department of Latin of the University. Announcement will be made of the school whose student wins first place. Honorable mention will be given to several schools whose students submit next best papers.

6. All schools deciding to enter the contest will notify the committee at Chapel Hill not later than February 13 of their plan to participate and will also notify this committee as to the number of students of the particular high school who will wish to enter the contest.

THE HIGH SCHOOL SPANISH CONTEST

1. The contest will take place throughout the State on March 10, 1939.

2. Students who may take part in the Spanish contest are limited to the sophomore, junior, and senior classes. The contest will be of a practical nature, enabling the student to show what facility he has acquired in handling Spanish verbs, grammar, and reading.

3. The individual school will select the best three papers from the total of the papers submitted in the local contest and will send these three papers to the Secretary of the Spanish Contest Committee at Chapel Hill by March 16, 1939. *The high school teacher is expected to score and to record the number of errors in each paper which is sent to Chapel Hill. Papers which have not been scored and on which the errors have not been recorded will be automatically disqualified.*

4. The papers from the various high schools will be graded by faculty members of the Department of Spanish of the University. Announcement will be made of the school whose student wins first place. Honorable mention will be given to several schools whose students submit next best papers.

5. All schools deciding to enter the contest will notify the committee at Chapel Hill not later than March 6 of their plan to participate and will also notify this committee as to the number of students of the particular high school who will wish to enter the contest.

THE HIGH SCHOOL FRENCH CONTEST

1. The contest will take place throughout the State on March 24, 1939.

2. The high school French contest is intended only for students in second year French who have had no special advantages nor private instruction in the language.

3. The scope of the contest will include: (1) a vocabulary test, (2) the

conjugation of several representative verbs, (3) the composing of French sentences illustrating different grammatical points, and (4) a reading test.

4. The individual school will select the best three papers from the total of papers submitted in the local contest and will send these three papers to the Secretary of the French Contest Committee at Chapel Hill by March 30, 1939. *The high school teacher is expected to score and to record the number of errors in each paper which is sent to Chapel Hill. Papers which have not been scored and on which the errors have not been recorded will be automatically disqualified.*

5. The papers from the various high schools will be graded by faculty members of the Department of French of the University. Announcement will be made of the three best individual papers in order of excellence, with honorable mention to the next twelve. Announcement will also be made of the three schools whose three-student teams make the best showing.

6. All schools deciding to enter the contest will notify the committee at Chapel Hill not later than March 20 of their plan to participate and will also notify this committee as to the number of students of the particular high school who will wish to enter the contest.

THE HIGH SCHOOL MATHEMATICS CONTEST

1. The high school Mathematics contest will take place throughout the State on April 28, 1939.

2. Students who may take part in the Mathematics contest are limited to members of the sophomore, junior, and senior classes.

3. The scope of the contest will include: (1) an arithmetic test, (2) an algebra test, and (3) a plane geometry test, ten questions in each.

4. The individual school will select the best paper from the total of papers submitted in the local contest and will send this paper to the Secretary of the Mathematics Contest Committee at Chapel Hill by May 5, 1939. Only one paper is to be sent to Chapel Hill from each school. Each paper submitted in the contest must carry the name of the writer, the name and address of the school, and the name of the principal.

5. The papers, as they are sent in by the various schools, will be graded by faculty members of the Department of Mathematics of the University. Announcement will be made of the school whose student wins first place. Honorable mention will be given to several schools whose students submit next best papers.

6. All schools deciding to enter the contest will notify the committee at Chapel Hill not later than April 24 of their plan to participate and will also notify this committee as to the number of students of the particular high school who will wish to enter the contest.

WINNERS OF ACADEMIC CONTESTS IN THE PAST

THE LATIN CONTEST

Charlotte High School, 1925; Lillington High School, 1926; Wilson High School, 1927; Roxboro High School, 1928; Durham High School, 1929; Durham High School, 1930; Durham High School, 1931; Roxboro High School, 1932; Wilson High School, 1933; Durham High School, 1934; Wilson High School, 1935; Statesville High School, 1936; Durham High School, 1937; Durham High School, 1938.

THE FRENCH CONTEST

Raleigh High School, 1926; Davidson High School, 1927; Forest City High School, 1928; Lenoir High School, 1929; Greensboro High School, 1930; Fayetteville High School, 1931; Louisburg High School (tie), 1932; Sylva High School (tie), 1932; Oxford High School, 1933; Louisburg High School, 1934; Louisburg High School, 1935; Louisburg High School, 1936; Albemarle High School (tie), 1937; Rockingham High School (tie), 1937; Richard J. Reynolds High School, 1938.

THE SPANISH CONTEST

Statesville High School, 1926; Statesville High School, 1927; Reidsville High School, 1928; Albemarle High School, 1929; Albemarle High School, 1930; Fayetteville High School, 1931; Gastonia High School, 1932; Gastonia High School, 1933; Gastonia High School, 1934; Gastonia High School, 1935, Gastonia High School, 1936; Rocky Mount High School, 1937; Rocky Mount High School, 1938.

THE MATHEMATICS CONTEST

Ayden High School, 1926; Charlotte High School, 1927; Ahoskie High School, 1928; Rocky Mount High School, 1929; Greensboro High School, 1930; Greensboro High School, 1931; Durham High School, 1932; Durham High School, 1933; Broughton High School, 1934; Albemarle High School, 1935; Durham High School, 1936; Charlotte High School, 1937; Needham Broughton High School, 1938.

THE PHYSICS CONTEST

Sanford High School (tie), 1938; Southern Pines High School (tie), 1938.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICES

The University of North Carolina offers, through the Extension Division, the following services to the people of the State:

Correspondence Instruction. One hundred and thirty university courses are offered by mail. These courses carry college and certification credit. High school graduates and others unable to attend college find home-study an economical and satisfactory method of continuing their education.

Extension Class Instruction. Late afternoon, evening, and Saturday classes are organized wherever enough enrollments to cover expenses are secured. Courses of both vocational and cultural nature are offered, with college credit, if desired.

Library Service. Reading courses, books, and reference materials are loaned to individuals and groups interested in the systematic study and discussion of literary, historical, social, and other subjects. There are available about fifty outlines for study suitable for women's clubs or other groups.

Lectures. Popular and technical lectures and readings by members of the faculty are arranged for schools, clubs, and other community organizations. Lecture courses either on a particular subject or on a series of topics may be obtained. Short courses and institutes are held at the University for groups interested in intensive training and instructional programs.

Dramatic Arts. Assistance is given in organization for dramatic activities, in play selection and production, and in the loan of playbooks and other library material. An annual tournament is conducted in coöperation with the Carolina Dramatic Association.

Interscholastic Activities. In coöperation with several University departments and state agencies, the Division conducts annual contests in debating, athletics, and academic subjects. A coaching school is held each summer for high school coaches and athletic directors.

Publications. *The University News Letter*, containing the results of studies made of economic and social conditions in North Carolina, is sent free to residents of the State. There are also issued annually several numbers of *The Extension Bulletin* containing information of interest to general readers.

For information concerning any of these services, write to the UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION, Chapel Hill, N. C.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XVIII NOVEMBER, 1938 NO. 4

CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR THE SESSIONS 1939-1941

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* On leave 1938-39.

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CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

This catalogue explains in detail the correspondence work offered at Chapel Hill by the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina. The courses offered at the State College of Agriculture and Engineering in Raleigh are listed on pages 35-37. Full information regarding these may be secured by writing to that institution.

The effectiveness of university teaching by correspondence has been clearly demonstrated. Home study enables one, in his spare time, to carry on studies in which he has a special interest, to broaden his intellectual outlook, or to make up deficiencies in his education. It is designed to give continuous educational opportunities to those who desire to learn, regardless of years or former academic accomplishments.

The advantages of individual study by means of correspondence are obvious. The student recites on every part of every lesson and receives the individual attention of the teacher in the correction of the papers he submits. Since a student is not hurried in his work, he can master the material thoroughly.

The courses listed herein may be pursued by any one who is prepared to study them with profit. Those who expect to secure credit towards a degree must, of course, satisfy the entrance and other requirements. However, those who do not desire or expect such credit are permitted to register for any course in which they have an interest. Non-credit students are given the same careful instruction as those who are candidates for a degree.

General Information

Correspondence study is simply a method of learning through the directed study of textbooks and supplementary material, writing the answers to the questions, and developing lines of thought contained in each assignment. Each assignment contains: (a) full directions for study, including references to textbooks by chapter and page; (b) suggestions and helps of the instructor; (c) questions to develop an understanding of the work done. When a student has registered for a course three assignments are sent him. He does the work outlined in the first assignment and sends his paper to the Extension Division, and then begins work on the second assignment. At the University each paper is gone over by the instructor, who carefully corrects and grades it and places on it constructive criticism and helpful suggestions for future study. Upon receipt of completed assignments, additional ones will be sent the student. While it is very desirable that the student send in work regularly, at least one assignment each week, he has the privilege of sending it in as he is able to complete it, *provided he does not submit more than four assignments a week in each course.*

Credit

Unless otherwise noted, all courses offered count toward the A.B. degree. Some courses are credited toward S.B. degrees. No courses offered count toward the master's degree.

To work out a systematic plan for taking correspondence instruction toward the A.B. degree, study carefully the *Requirements for Bachelors' Degrees* found on pages 10-12. Courses marked with an asterisk (*) are given by correspondence. The other courses listed in this catalogue are elective.

The State Department of Public Instruction at Raleigh will, in accordance with their regulations, credit all courses listed in this catalogue (except those listed as non-credit courses) toward state teachers' certificates. See page 7 regarding amount of credit allowed and distribution.

For credit toward a degree not more than the equivalent of one and one-half years of residence work, 45 semester hours or 67½ quarter hours, may be earned by extension. *Of this amount only 30 semester hours or 45 quarter hours may be taken by correspondence.* One-third of the total amount, 15 semester hours or 22½ quarter hours, is the maximum of correspondence work that may be completed in any twelve-month period. It is expected that the last year's work will be taken in residence. Special cases will be handled individually.

Entrance Requirements

If degree credit is desired an applicant for correspondence work must meet the University entrance requirements of at least fifteen acceptable units from an accredited high school. The high school record must be transferred to the University on a blank that will be furnished for the purpose. An applicant for advanced standing may be ranked as a sophomore, junior, or senior when credit for work taken at other colleges has been properly transferred to the University and accepted by the examining committee.

If *certification credit only* is desired, correspondence courses may be taken by any teacher who holds a Standard State Certificate.

Length of Courses

Each correspondence course has been developed by a member of the faculty so that it parallels a course given in residence in the same subject and covers an equal amount of work for which equal credit is given. Although it may vary, a correspondence course which gives two semester hours or three quarter hours credit has about sixteen assignments and one which gives three and one-third semester hours or five quarter hours credit has about twenty-seven assignments. Each assignment covers approximately two days of residence work. On such assignments a student is expected to put approximately six hours, or else sufficient time to do the work in the best possible manner. Where there is a small number of assignments in a course each assignment covers several days of residence work. The number of assignments in a course is really incidental, since the total amount of work for a unit of credit is always the same.

Transferring Credit

A record of the extension work completed towards a degree will be transferred to another institution when this request is made by the student. For its own degrees the University of North Carolina makes no distinction between credit obtained in extension and that obtained in

residence, except that there is a limit to the amount of extension work that can count towards a degree. But the University cannot determine the policy of other institutions in regard to accepting towards their degrees credit for work completed in extension elsewhere. There are very few standard colleges or universities at this time, however, that do not accept credit for work completed through extension instruction in other standard colleges or universities.

The Extension Division will transfer credit to the State Department of Public Instruction to be applied toward teachers' certificates on the dates nearest the completion of the work. The State Department has requested the Division to transfer credit for this purpose at only two stated times during the year—June 1st and September 1st. Unless the work is completed before September 1st, credit will not be allowed by the State Department as of the June preceding but will be carried forward to the June next succeeding.

Special Notices to Teachers

Teachers who need *professional courses* must be sure to choose them in their own professional field. For instance, a primary teacher should not take a course in high school methods. If courses for *professional credit* are needed, this should be indicated on the application blank printed at the end of this catalogue.

Teachers who fail to complete the equivalent of one summer school unit of work while in summer school may finish the unit by extension, provided the credit earned is not in excess of the amount allowed by the State Department of Public Instruction. The following regulations have been adopted by the State Department:

1. No teacher in service shall be given credit for more than twenty semester hours during any one year between September 1st of that year and August 31st of the following year, a teacher in service being defined as one who teaches six or more months during the period. This, it must be understood, is the maximum total credit from all sources.

2. No teacher in service shall be given credit for more than twelve semester hours of extension class teaching or correspondence study instruction in any year between September 1st of that year and August 31st of the following year, with not more than eight semester hours permitted between September 1st and June 1st following.

3. Not more than forty per cent of the credit necessary to raise a certificate from one class to another may be earned through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction.

4. The original professional credit necessary for an administrative or supervisory certificate may not be secured through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction.

5. Not more than sixteen semester hours extension credit may be earned with the same instructor.

The work required for A Certificates, as outlined by the State Department of Public Instruction is as follows:

High School Teachers' Certificates Issued as of July 1, 1931, and Thereafter

Graduation from a standard four year college is assumed. With that understanding, the requirements are as follows:

I. The professional requirements common to all certificates shall be:

†1. Educational Psychology _____ 2 semester hours

2. Principles of High School Teaching
or
Problems in Secondary Education _____ 2 semester hours

*3. Materials and Methods _____ 2 semester hours

‡4. Observation and Directed Teaching
(one or both fields) _____ 3 semester hours

5. Electives _____ 9 semester hours

II. The subject matter requirements for the teaching of any subject shall be:

1. For English _____ 24 semester hours

This shall include:

a. Grammar, Composition, and Rhetoric
b. American Literature
c. English Literature

NOTE: It is recommended that each applicant present credit for at least six semester hours in each subdivision of English shown above with a total of not less than 30 semester hours in English.

2. For French _____ 18 semester hours

This is based on two units of entrance credit in French. If no entrance credit is presented, the applicant must have 24 semester hours, or 18 hours in addition to Elementary French.

The requirements for certification in any other modern foreign language will be the same as to entrance and college credits as for the teaching of French.

NOTE: It is recommended that the applicant have from 6 to 12 semester hours more credit in the Language to be taught than that represented by the minimum.

3. For History _____ 24 semester hours

This shall include:

a. Ancient and Mediæval
b. Modern European
c. United States
} _____ 12 semester hours

d. Political Science or Government _____ 3 semester hours

e. Electives from:

(1) Economics
(2) Sociology
(3) North Carolina History
(4) From a, b, c, and d above _____ 9 semester hours

NOTE: It is recommended that the History teacher have not less than 36 semester hours, including 24 semester hours in History, with at least 6 semester hours in each subdivision in that subject, with 6 hours in Political Science and Economics and with 6 semester hours in Geography.

4. For Latin _____ 24 semester hours

This is based on two units of entrance credit in Latin, to be reduced six semester hours for each additional unit of entrance credit.

NOTE: It is recommended that each applicant for a Latin certificate show credit for at least three years of college work in that subject.

NOTE: Students interested in fulfilling the requirements for a college degree should refer to pages ....-.....

* Credit for Materials and Methods required only in one subject.

† General Psychology will not be accepted as a part of the professional work on any certificate.

‡ If all requirements except Observation and Directed Teaching are met, the Class B Certificate will be issued. The Class A Certificate may be issued whenever the applicant has had one year of successful teaching experience. It is understood that this teaching will have been done under the joint supervision of the head of the Education Department of the institution from which the student graduated and the superintendent of the school in which the applicant taught.

NOTE: In the Observation and Directed Teaching one shall have had not fewer than thirty hours of actual class teaching or not fewer than thirty full class exercises.

5. For Mathematics _____15 semester hours

NOTE: Additional credit for six semester hours in Mathematics would be desirable.

6. For Science _____30 semester hours

This shall include:

a. Biology
b. Chemistry
c. Physics
d. Geography or Geology

A certificate to teach any one science, e.g., Biology, may be secured by presenting credit for a minimum of 30 semester hours in science, including a major in the particular science in which the certificate is desired.

NOTE: It is recommended that the science teacher have credit for at least 36 semester hours, with not less than six semester hours in any one of the four sciences.

7. For Commerce _____36 semester hours

This shall include:

a. Stenography
b. Typewriting
c. Bookkeeping
d. Office Management

8. For Fine Arts_____30 semester hours
9. For Industrial Arts_____30 semester hours
10. For Public School Music_____30 semester hours

To be qualified to teach Public School Music, as a part of the 30 semester hours or in addition to it, the applicant must have credit for at least three semester hours in Voice. A certificate to teach instrumental music such as Piano or Violin will not require credit in Voice.

11. For Physical Education_____30 semester hours
(Theoretical and Practical)

12. For Home Economics_____45 semester hours

This shall include:

a. Chemistry _____6 semester hours
b. Physiology and Bacteriology_____6 semester hours
c. Physics _____ 2 semester hours
d. Art _____3 semester hours
e. Foods _____8 semester hours
f. Clothing _____8 semester hours
g. Management
Home Management
Home Management Residence } _____6 semester hours
Economics of the Home
h. Family
Child Development
Family and Social Relationships } ____6 semester hours
Health and Home Nursing

A certificate to teach foods only will be issued if applicant has credit for 18 semester hours in foods and has met all requirements for the Home Economics Certificate except in Art and Design and Clothing. A certificate to teach Clothing only will be issued if applicant has credit for fifteen semester hours in Clothing and has met all requirements for the Home Economics Certificate except that in Foods.

13. For Agriculture

This certificate will be issued on the basis of a B.S. Degree in Agricultural Education from a recognized school, provided the applicant meets the Professional Requirements as outlined for the teachers of other high school subjects.

VALIDITY AND RENEWAL. A Class A Certificate issued since 1931 may be renewed for five years by presenting credit for 6 semester hours of work. After such a renewal, the certificate may be kept in force by teaching for at last two years within a five-year period. A Class A Certificate issued in 1930 or prior thereto may be made a Life Certificate by presenting credit

for five years' teaching experience on the Class A Certificate and credit for 6 semester hours' work specializing in Methods and Supervision. For the high school teacher the Methods course should deal with the teaching of one or more subjects in the high school field.

Certificates for Teaching in the Elementary Schools

I. Grammar Grade or Primary Certificate Class A

These certificates issued as of July 1, 1931, will require graduation from a standard four year college, or the equivalent, embracing not less than 120 semester hours. As a part of the work, or in addition to it, the applicant shall have:

For Primary Certificate Class A

1. English _____12 S.H.
   a. Composition _____ 6 S.H.
   b. Children's Literature_ 2 S.H. (Primary Grades)
   c. Elective _____ 4 S.H.
2. American History and Citizenship _____ 6 S.H.
3. Geography, including Nature Study _____ 6 S.H.
4. Fine and Industrial Arts 9 S.H.
   This shall include:
   a. Drawing
   b. Industrial Arts
   c. Music
5. Physical and Health Education _____ 6 S.H.
   This shall include a minimum of:
   a. Physical Education 2 S.H.
   b. Hygiene and Health Education _____ 2 S.H.
6. Education _____21 S.H.
   This shall include:
   a. Primary Methods (Reading, Language, Numbers)
   b. Classroom Management
   c. Child Study
   d. Educational Psychology
   e. Observation and Directed Teaching
7. Electives _____57 S.H.

For Grammar Grade Certificate Class A

1. English _____12 S.H.
   a. Composition _____ 6 S.H.
   b. Children's Literature_ 2 S.H. (Intermediate and Grammar Grade)
   c. Elective _____ 4 S.H.
2. American History and Citizenship _____ 6 S.H.
3. Geography _____ 6 S.H.
4. Fine and Industrial Arts 9 S.H.
   This shall include:
   a. Drawing
   b. Industrial Arts
   c. Music
5. Physical and Health Education _____ 6 S.H.
   This shall include a minimum of:
   a. Physical Education 2 S.H.
   b. Hygiene and Health Education _____ 2 S.H.
6. Education _____21 S.H.
   This shall include:
   a. Grammar Grade Methods (Reading, Language, Arithmetic, Social Science)
   b. Classroom Management
   c. Child Study
   d. Educational Psychology
   e. Educational Measurements
   f. Observation and Directed Teaching
7. Electives _____57 S.H.

Validity and Renewal. A Class A Certificate issued in 1931 may be renewed for five years by presenting credit for 6 semester hours of work. After such a renewal, the certificate may be kept in force by teaching for at least two years within a five-year period. A Class A Certificate issued in 1930 or prior thereto may be made a Life Certificate by presenting credit for five years' teaching experience on the Class A Certificate and credit for 6 semester hours' work specializing in Methods and Supervision. For the primary and grammar grade teacher the Methods course should deal with subjects in the elementary school.

Requirements for the Bachelors' Degrees

The work of the first two years at the University is the same for all students except those in the Schools of Engineering, Applied Science, and

Pharmacy. This means that they have the same choices, not that they must take identical work.

The matter below, taken from the University catalog, is inserted so that correspondence students may select their courses in line with the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, should they desire to do so. The course leading to this degree is designed to provide a general, well-rounded, liberal education. Students who plan to take Music as their major subject should consult the University's General Catalog for information concerning their programs for the freshman and sophomore years.

In order to be recommended for the degree a student must pass satisfactorily and in accordance with the qualitative standard in force the work prescribed for the lower division and at least ninety (90) quarter hours in the upper division, including the prescribed subjects listed below and elective subjects in accordance with the requirements stated. In his senior year each student must also pass a comprehensive examination in the department of his major study. At least three quarters within twelve months must be spent in residence before a degree will be granted.

In his first two years the student pursues a more or less definite curriculum, according to the following plan:

Freshman Year

Required:
- *English 1-2-3
- *Social Science 1-2-3
- Physical Education 1-2-3

Choose one:
- Natural Science 1-2-3
- Chemistry 1-2-3
- Physics 1-2-3
- ‡Geology 21-22-23

Choose one:
- **Mathematics 1-2-3
- Greek 11-12-13
- Latin 11-12-13

Choose one:
- French 11-12-13
- *German 11-12-13
- Greek 11-12-13
- Latin 11-12-13
- Spanish 11-12-13

Sophomore Year

Required:
- *English 21-22-23
- Foreign Language, 21-22-23 (Continuing the one chosen in the first year.)

Choose one:
- *Economics 21-22-23
- ***Education 41-42
- †Political Science 31-32-33
- History 41-42
- *History 44-45-46
- Philosophy 21-22-23
- §Sociology 21-22-23

Choose one:
- Botany 41 and Zoology 41
- Botany 41 and 43
- Chemistry 1-2-3 or 4-5, or 31 and 41 (or 42)
- ‡Geology 21-22-23
- Physics 21-22-23
- Mathematics 21-22-23
- ****Psychology 21-22-23
- Zoology 41 and 42

In addition choose one free elective—3 hours a week for the year.

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* Given by correspondence.
† Political Science c51-c52 will meet this requirement.
‡ Geology c41-c42 will meet this requirement.
** Mathematics c7-c8 will meet this requirement.
***Education 41 only offered.
****Credit only for lecture part of course. §Sociology c51-c52 will meet this requirement.

Junior and Senior Years

For the purpose of providing the proper concentration for the junior and senior years the subjects of the curriculum have been grouped under four Divisions: the Division of the Humanities, the Division of Natural Science, the Division of Social Science, and the Division of Commerce. At the end of a student's second year he must choose one of the Divisions for his major work during his last two years. Having made his choice his work will be directed by the Chairman of the Division chosen. In general he will be expected to take about one-third of his work in one Department, one-third in allied Departments in the same Division, and one-third elective in other Divisions. It is understood that if no program of a Division meets the needs of a student he may submit a program of his own, which he may follow if it meets with the approval of the Division chosen for his major work.

It is expected that the last year's work will be taken in residence. Special cases will be handled individually.

Before being eligible for a degree, a senior must pass to the satisfaction of his major department, a comprehensive examination in the subject of his major. This examination will normally be given in the winter quarter of the senior year.

NOTE: Persons interested in fulfilling the requirements for a teacher's certificate should refer to pages 7-10, inclusive.

THE GROUP-STUDY PLAN

For College Credit

High school graduates and others with some college credit desiring undergraduate degree credit at the University of North Carolina may form a group for study. There should be as many as six interested in the same course. Each individual desiring credit should send his previous school record to the University, unless it is already on file here, and have it approved. Then he should send his application and fee to the Extension Division, upon the receipt of which material will be sent him. The various persons constituting the group may meet, under a local supervisor if desired, and discuss the work, but the assignments submitted for correction must be written by each individual independently of the others. In case a supervisor is secured and charges for his services, he will be paid by the group and not by the Extension Division. His duties will be to arrange a convenient meeting place, set the time for group meetings, and be present to lead the discussions and clear up difficulties which may arise. Members of the faculty at State College in Raleigh also teach correspondence courses carrying credit at that institution. If credit is desired there, or elsewhere, the authorities should be consulted to determine whether the course selected will fit into the curriculum and give the credit desired.

Without Academic Credit

Persons not interested in college credit but desiring to follow a directed plan of study for educational and cultural purposes are advised to proceed as follows: if six or more persons wish to study the same course with

little expense, one member of the group should send his application and fee to the Extension Division. This will entitle that person to one set of assignments and the consideration of his papers by an instructor at the institution. (Additional sets of assignments may be secured at a nominal amount, the cost of mimeographing.) The person enrolled may discuss the material with the group, letting the other members have the benefit of the information given and of the instructor's comments on his papers when they are returned corrected. This will be without cost to the group unless the members decide to select a local supervisor who may make a charge for his services. If the group is composed of ten or more, it is advisable for more than one person to enroll so that there will be more of the instructor's comments and suggestions for discussions. Persons need not be high school graduates in order to join the non-credit group.

Adult Education

Those Not Interested in Academic Credit
(See Group Study Plan, above).

Special arrangements will be made with instructors to meet the requirements of adult students who, for various reasons, desire to continue study without securing academic or professional credit. Any mature person or group of persons, regardless of previous education, may register for any of the subjects listed in this bulletin, and the instructor will endeavor to adjust the course to the individual or group needs and interests. Courses in Psychology, Education, Library Science, Rural Economics, Sociology and Hygiene and Health Education are especially recommended for homemakers, social workers and parent-teacher groups. Literary and civic club members will find courses in History, Economics, English, Political Science, foreign languages, Journalism, Art and Music valuable. For business groups there are courses in Accounting, Business English, Mathematics, etc.

For Teachers of Adults

Special Attention is called to the courses in Adult Education, Education c130 and c131, designed to meet the inservice training needs of adult education teachers, as well as to meet the needs of persons interested in becoming familiar with the broad field of adult education.

High School Courses by Correspondence

Plans are being made for offering courses in high school subjects by correspondence. An announcement of this work will be made later.

PERSONS FOR WHOM CORRESPONDENCE COURSES ARE DESIGNED

University courses of standard grade by correspondence offer excellent opportunities to many persons who are fully qualified to pursue them profitably but who, for various reasons, are unable to attend a university. Aside from this general appeal, they are particularly helpful to the following classes:

1. College students who are unable to pursue continuous residence courses.

2. School teachers who are working for certification credit.
3. High school graduates who cannot go to college.
4. Professional and business men who wish to supplement their training.
5. The man or woman who left school early or who is too old to go to school and feels the value of broader training to make life more interesting, or who seeks to change his or her vocation.
6. Club women who wish to pursue a systematic line of study.
7. Isolated men and women who desire some interest outside of themselves—who are reaching out for mental stimulus.
8. Housekeepers and homemakers who wish to keep up with the times.
9. Ministers of the gospel laboring in remote places who wish to keep themselves informed in regard to educational matters.
10. Those in public service—in fact all who are eager for knowledge or advancement, and desire to keep abreast of the times.

Fees and Refunds

Unless otherwise stated, residents of North Carolina are charged a fee of eight dollars ($8.00) for a two semester hour or three quarter hour course and thirteen dollars and fifty cents ($13.50) for a three and one-third semester hour or five quarter hour course. For non-residents the fees are ten dollars ($10.00) for the former and seventeen dollars and fifty cents ($17.50) for the latter, payable at the time of enrollment. *In addition*, each student pays, at the time of his enrollment, a registration fee of two dollars ($2.00) which shall entitle him to administrative and office service for one year. No course fee or parts of such can be refunded after a course is once begun. In the event that no work has been done during the first three months and application is made within that time, a portion of the fee will be refunded, provided a good cause is given for discontinuing. A course fee holds good for one year and five weeks only. If it is desired to continue a course not completed within that time, a renewal fee of two dollars ($2.00) for a two semester hour or three quarter hour course and three dollars ($3.00) for each three and one-third semester hour or five quarter course will be required in order to extend the time for six months. Only one renewal is allowed.

A certificate or diploma (9 x 12 inches, suitable to be framed) will be sent upon request to each student upon completion of a course, at a cost to the student of $1.00. All students completing courses receive free of charge a small card (3 x 5 inches) giving all necessary information concerning these completed courses.

Books and Supplies

Textbooks are purchased by the students themselves, usually through the Extension Division. When a student has finished a course the Division will repurchase books that are in good condition if the student desires to sell them, provided the course has not been discontinued and the Division is not sufficiently stocked.

The Bureau will not be responsible for books sent in for repurchase unless a three-cent envelope containing a letter giving the name of the student, address, name of the course for which the books were used, and reason for return is pasted on the package of books.

Upon application, reference books for supplementary reading may be borrowed from the University Library Extension Service at a slight expense to the student for postage and packing. In some instances supplementary texts may be rented from the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction.

Light-weight paper suitable for typewriter or pen may be purchased from the Bureau. This is recommended in order to save postage.

Rules Governing Correspondence Work

1. Not more than two enrollments may be had at one time, and it is advisable to complete one course before registering for another.

2. Students may enroll for correspondence work at any time during the year.

3. Work taken by correspondence must be completed within one year and five weeks from the date of registration or a renewal fee will be required.

4. No two semester hour or three quarter hour course may be completed in less than 30 days and no three and one-third semester hour or five quarter hour course in less than 60 days from the date the Extension Division receives the first assignment from the student.

5. Those who wish credit must take a final examination on completion of all assignments in a course. This may be taken either at the University or at home under conditions approved by the University. It should be taken no later than one month after the last assignment has been returned corrected. The examination must be passed if credit is to be allowed.

6. It is desirable that students send in at least one assignment a week. Only four assignments per week are accepted in a course.

7. A subject previously taken in any institution for which either degree or certification credit has already been given cannot be taken for credit by correspondence.

8. For credit toward a degree not more than the equivalent of one and one-half years of residence work, which is 45 semester hours or 67½ quarter hours, may be earned by extension. *Only 30 semester hours or 45 quarter hours may be taken by correspondence.* One-third of the total amount, 15 semester hours or 22½ quarter hours, is the maximum of correspondence work that may be completed in any twelve-month period. It is expected that the last year's work will be taken in residence. Special cases will be handled individually.

9. Correspondence work cannot be taken at the same time residence work is being taken without special permission.

10. Persons who are not *bona fide* residents of Chapel Hill must secure the approval of University authorities to remain in town and take corespondence courses.

11. When a student has completed a correspondence course all assignments must be returned to the Extension Division before a final grade or credit will be given.

12. It is expected that students will not take work from more than one institution at a time.

Standards

The Bureau emphasizes the importance of the individual guidance of students by instructors. This involves the evaluation of students' work and the giving of helpful suggestions according to individual needs.

All students will be expected to submit their assignments in good form, grammatical and otherwise, acceptable to the instructor and in line with the requirements of the University. If an instructor in any department finds that the English composition of a student is below the standard, the symbol *cc* (composition condition) may accompany the final grade, as for instance Bcc, Ccc, or Dcc. This will indicate that, although the instructor has accepted as satisfactory the student's knowledge of the subject matter of the course, the penmanship, punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, or organization of the written work is not up to the University standard. A student receiving such a grade may remove the condition by doing work in residence assigned by the English Department or by completing successfully either of the correspondence courses English c1 or English c51.

The Honor System

Correspondence courses, like residence courses, are on the honor basis. The student body of the University has through a century of traditions developed an honor spirit and an honor system. A student who plagiarizes, copies, cheats, or in any way does dishonest work is not only denied credit for the course but is also dismissed from the University by his fellow students. Work must be honest above all other qualities. Each correspondence student is on his honor to do only honest work.

To make certain that there is no semblance of dishonor it should be an unfailing habit *never* to use the textbook or any other materials or aids when writing answers to questions.

No credit will be given for a course in case the student has been false to the pledge of honor. No refund will be made in such case.

How to Register for Correspondence Work

Read carefully all the preceding pages. Then look through the list of courses and select one or two which you need or in which you are most interested. Next fill out the application blank in the back of this bulletin; detach and mail to the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Before writing to the Division be sure to fill out *every line* of the application blank. If you are a school teacher, be certain to give exact information, where called for, concerning your teacher's certificate; i.e., *kind* (whether elementary, primary, grammar grade, or high school); *class* (whether A, B, or C); and *number*.

Textbooks will not be sent unless requested on the application blank.

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

NOTE: Unless otherwise stated in the description of the courses, the "c" numbers are the same as in the University catalogue and also correspond to the "s" numbers in the summer school catalogue. For the complete understanding of a course, both the "a" and "b" parts should be taken. For degree credit both parts are required.

NOTE: The fees here listed apply to residents of North Carolina. Fees for non-residents are $10.00 for a half course and $17.50 for a whole course. **In addition** to the course fee, each student (resident and non-resident) must pay at the time of his enrollment one registration fee of $2.00 which shall entitle him to administrative and office service for one year.

DEPARTMENT OF ART

c41-c42-c43.
THE HISTORY AND APPRECIATION OF ART.
MRS. MCNEIR.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The first course concerns the history and appreciation of architecture, sculpture, and painting of Mediaeval Europe.

The second course is the history and appreciation of architecture, sculpture, and painting of the Renaissance.

The third course is the history and appreciation of 19th and 20th century architecture, sculpture, and painting in Europe and America.

DEPARTMENT OF DRAMATIC ART

c50.
SHAKESPEARE.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

c155a-b.
DRAMATIC COMPOSITION.
PROFESSOR BAILEY.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

English c 155a is a study of the one-act play as a form of literary and dramatic expression. Plays by representative authors will be read and analyzed for their expression of some phase of life and for their stage effectiveness. Considerable attention will be devoted to technique.

*English c 155b is a study of the full length play as a form of literary and dramatic expression. It will be handled similarly to English c 155a.

*c156a-b.
DRAMATIC COMPOSITION.
PROFESSOR BAILEY.
Prerequisite, Eng. c155a, or the equivalent.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

These are courses in the technique of writing the one-act play. In each, one one-act play is to be written, the instructor providing analysis and criticism of the ideas submitted, of the scenarios, and of the various versions of the play as it is being written.

*c157.
DRAMATIC COMPOSITION.
PROFESSOR BAILEY.
Prerequisite, Eng. c155b or the equivalent.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This is a course in the technique of writing the full length play. One full length play is to be written.

c162a-162b.
MODERN DRAMA.
MR. WYNN.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments each.

The main purpose of this course is to give the student a general acquaintance with the chief tendencies of the English and continental drama of the past forty or forty-five years.

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* Not available until 1940.

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND COMMERCE

Economics

c21-c22-c23.
GENERAL ECONOMICS.
Mr. Donovan.
Sophomore Elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
18 assignments each.

This course is planned to give a general understanding of the organization of our economic life and the fundamental principles underlying it. An analysis is made of production, distribution, and consumption, of the elements which determine value and price, with a brief introduction to money, banking and credit, monopoly, business combinations, transportation, labor problems, and economic reform.

c31-c32.
GENERAL ECONOMICS.
Mr. Donovan.
Sophomore Elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments each.

These courses cover the same material as Economics c21-c22-c23. Persons who have taken Economics c21-c22-c23 should not take these.

c35.
ECONOMIC HISTORY.
Professor Heath or Mr. Wilder.
Sophomore and Junior Elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

The purpose of this study is to lead the student through the channel of history into the field of modern economy. Our present economic system is presented as a product of evolutionary processes. Special emphasis is placed on the development of the wage system, the ebb and flow of business activity, the expansion of markets, and the growth of capital, etc., as they have manifested themselves in English and American history.

*Commerce

c1a.
ACCOUNTING.
Mr. Crutchfield.

No credit.
Fee, $12.50.**
15 assignments.

Study of the fundamental principles of double entry bookkeeping; books of original entry; the ledger; preparation of financial statements.

c1b.
ACCOUNTING.
Mr. Crutchfield.

No credit.
Fee, $12.50.**
15 assignments.

Continuation of c1a; closing and adjusting the books; the work sheet; control accounts; the partnership.

c91-c92.
BUSINESS LAW.
Professor Hobbs.
Prerequisites, Economics 31-32 (or 21-22-23) if taken for credit.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments each.

The aim of the course is to give the student an understanding of the main principles of law that govern in the daily conduct of business. The topics discussed are: contracts, agencies, negotiable instruments, sales, bailments, corporations, partnerships, and bankruptcy.

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* NOTE: Certain courses listed under the Department of Commerce count only toward the S.B. degree in Commerce.
** Fee includes registration fee.

ALLIED SUBJECTS

*c6.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

c51.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

c41.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATION.
PROFESSOR MAASKE.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This is an orientation course in education for beginners, especially designed for school teachers, school board members, patrons, and taxpayers. This course attempts to aid teachers in obtaining a general understanding of the philosophy and procedures of public education. It introduces the history, traditions, organization and purposes of public schools.

c71a-c71b.
EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY.
PROFESSOR JORDAN.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each
15 assignments each.

The critical consideration of such topics as original nature of man, heredity versus environment, kinds of learning and factors influencing learning, individual differences, mental hygiene, and mental measurement.

c94.
CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT.
PROFESSOR PHILLIPS.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

A course for teachers on the organization and direction of activities in the classroom as distinguished from the administration of an entire school. Class routine, lesson planning, conduct of the recitation, and extra-curricular activities will be included.

c99.
PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.
PROFESSOR DOUGLASS or Assistant.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

Theory, objectives and types of organization of secondary education; the curriculum as related to aims of secondary education and modern American life; guidance in the secondary school; theory and procedures of classroom activities; classroom management; modern methods of teaching and measuring results of teaching; extra-curricular activities in secondary schools.

c101a-b.
BASIC PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.
PROFESSOR PHILLIPS.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
15 assignments each.

The first half of this course will include the basic principles involved in school administration and is designed particularly for teachers who wish to get a review of the fundamentals of the organization and administration of American public schools, and for students desiring to prepare later for general administrative positions. Attention will be given to the organization, administration, and financial support of public schools in federal, state, and local school districts; work of school boards, retirement and tenure, professional

* Persons working for the S.B. degree in Commerce should take English c51 instead of this course.

ethics; public relations; and relationships of the teacher in modern educational administration.

The second half of the course will deal with practical techniques in educational administration concerning (1) teacher and pupil personnel problems; (2) school records, and reports; (3) age-grade progress studies; (4) pupil classification and promotion; (5) transportation and consolidation; and (6) general administration of allied school activities.

c102. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION.
PROFESSOR MAASKE.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
15 assignments.

The qualifications, duties, and opportunities of the elementary school principal as an educational leader will be studied. Particular attention will be given to the practical organization of the staff, administrative organization of the instructional and extra-curriculum program, classification and promotion of pupils, provision for atypical children, library service, and health education. It is designed particularly for elementary school principals, teachers, and others desirous of becoming familiar with the problems of elementary school administration.

c130. PRINCIPLES AND METHODS IN ADULT EDUCATION.
PROFESSOR MAASKE.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

Consideration will be given in this course to (1) principles in organizing adult study groups; (2) how adults learn, (3) guidance and counselling of adults; (4) preparing curriculum materials for adult groups; and (5) teaching and learning methods and techniques in adult education. It is designed for professional and lay leaders of adults and others interested in the administration and supervision of adult education.

c131. ADULT EDUCATION.—A General Survey.
PROFESSOR MAASKE.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

Consideration will be given in this course to (1) current developments in adult education in the United States and foreign countries; (2) the history and philosophy of adult education; (3) the place of specialized fields in adult education; and (4) problems in managing adult education programs. It is particularly designed for teachers and supervisors in adult education, lay workers, school superintendents and others interested in this field.

c141 EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.
PROFESSOR KNIGHT OR ASSISTANT.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This course gives a historical survey of education in the Southern states with special attention to its development, organization, administration, and supervision since 1876. Problems in educational reorganization needed for the solution of school problems in the Southern states will be studied.

c142a-c142b. HISTORIC FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EDUCATION.
PROFESSOR KNIGHT OR ASSISTANT.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

This course traces the development of some of the more important educational problems of modern times as they have been affected by

the social and political facts of history, by the contributions of the leading educational theorists, and by institutional practice. It deals with the growth of national systems of education, and especially with the extension of popular education in the United States.

c143a-c143b.
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.
PROFESSOR KNIGHT OR ASSISTANT.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The purpose of this course is to present the evolution of the educational practices and institutions of the United States. The elementary school, the secondary school, and the institutions of higher learning will be traced through (a) the period of transplanting of European institutions; (b) the period of modification of institutional life to meet new conditions; and (c) the period of development of an educational system of free common schools, high schools, state universities, and technical schools in harmony with the political and social ideals and institutions of America.

NOTE: This course is accepted as the equivalent of History 170.

c160.
CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION.
PROFESSOR MCKEE.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

The construction and organization of the elementary school curriculum when based upon human needs. Includes consideration of the teacher's function in curriculum construction, objectives of the school subjects, sources of curricular materials and criteria for evaluating it, selection and organization of the pupil-activities through which the objectives may be obtained. Special attention will be focused upon recent trends in curricular revision and organization in our modern schools.

c164.
TESTS AND MEASUREMENTS IN EDUCATION.
PROFESSOR JORDAN.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
17 assignments.

Methods of measuring and improving the results of instruction in the elementary or high school will be given detailed consideration in this course. Students will be made acquainted with the most important tests and scales and will be given some experience in interpreting the results both statistically and practically.

c170a-c170b.
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SUBJECTS.
PROFESSOR MCKEE.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The applications of important findings of experimental research and of accepted theories of Psychology to the effective teaching and learning of the materials in the various subject matter fields. Each subject will be treated in relation to its possibilities for the growth and development of socialized personalities, emphasizing both a motivated, constructive approach and a diagnostic remedial attack on pupil's disabilities and difficulties.

c171a-c171b.
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL CHILD.
PROFESSOR JORDAN OR ASSISTANT.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Child development. A study of the growth and development of children up to the time of adolescence. Changes in emotions are emphasized as well as those of intellect. (b) Adolescence. A study

of the changes in emotions, attitudes and interests which take place during the adolescent years. The underlying physiological changes are, of course, not neglected.

ADDITIONAL COURSES

Education

*c3X.
SCHOOL HYGIENE AND HEALTH EDUCATION.
PROFESSOR BEARD.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

The elements of normal growth, physical diagnosis, and the essentials of personal health maintenance are studied. The individual child and his environment, posture, neuro-muscular coordination, physical defects, and several phases of personal hygiene are considered. Heating, lighting, and ventilation of schoolhouses and other facts of common school life are discussed.

**c31a-c31b.
INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY.
PROFESSOR JORDAN OR ASSISTANT.
Sophomore Course.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

Education is viewed in this course as a series of changes in individual pupils. The elementary principles of educational psychology will be illustrated and studied briefly through assigned readings, experiments, and discussions.

*c51Pa-c51Pb.
READING AND STUDY HABITS FOR THE PRIMARY GRADES.
PROFESSOR MCKEE OR ASSISTANT.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

This course will consider the principles involved in reading, problems in beginning reading, and the various methods of teaching reading, the importance and place of oral and silent reading, word building and reading tests. Consideration is given to methods involved in developing effective study habits.

*c52Ga.
READING AND STUDY HABITS FOR GRAMMAR GRADES.
PROFESSOR MCKEE OR ASSISTANT.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

The aim of this course is to acquaint the student with the materials and methods of teaching reading as a means of extending the experiences of boys and girls, of stimulating good thinking, and arousing interest in a wide variety of reading activities. The chief aim is to train pupils "to translate the printed word into ideals, thoughts, and actions which make for knowledge and efficiency."

*c54Pa.
ARITHMETIC, PRIMARY NUMBER AND PROJECTS.
PROFESSOR MUNCH.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

This course will emphasize the development of number concept in primary grades; the place of drill; kind and amount of formal arith-

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* This course was designed to give credit toward the degree of A.B. in Elementary Education, which degree is no longer offered at Chapel Hill. Undergraduate work in elementary education for women is now given at the Woman's College in Greensboro and those interested in degree credit in that field should consult the authorities there about their courses. This course gives certification credit in the elementary field.

** This course is no longer required for a degree at this University but it may be taken for credit on teachers' certificates or for degree credit elsewhere.

metic in these grades; projects and activities as a basis for the formal number work.

*c55Ga. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
ARITHMETIC FOR THE GRAMMAR GRADES. Fee, $8.00.
PROFESSOR MUNCH. *16 assignments.*

Careful study of the investigations revealing the core of mathematical facts necessary for all people to acquire; also methods of teaching these facts thoroughly. Special attention is given to the application of arithmetic to different situations.

*c55Gb. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
LANGUAGE AND COMPOSITION FOR GRAMMAR GRADES. Fee, $8.00.
PROFESSOR MCKEE OR ASSISTANT. *16 assignments.*

A study of means of speaking effectively and pleasingly. Written language, obtaining good form through genuine use, including composition, writing, and spelling. A study will be made of (a) various vocabulary studies, (b) how to encourage pupils to make use of words learned, and (c) how best to measure the results of teaching.

**c98a-c98b. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
GENERAL METHODS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION. Fee, $8.00 each.
PROFESSOR KING. *15 assignments*, c98a.
16 assignments, c98b.

The first half of this course deals with the aims of high school teaching and the outcomes of learning. In the second half an evaluation of the various techniques and methods of instruction commonly used in high schools is attempted. (These courses give certification credit only on high school teachers' certificates.)

Natural Science

These courses are designed to orient the student in the world of science. The principles of the natural sciences are developed in relationship to man and the progress of civilization. Application of scientific principles in daily life are especially emphasized.

*c1xa-c1xb-c2xa-c2xb. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
NATURAL SCIENCE. Fee, $8.00 each.
PROFESSOR PRESTON. *16 assignments each.*

Natural Science c1xa-b and Natural Science c2xa-b, which follow, constitute a general survey of the field of science in its practical applications to everyday life. Particular stress is laid on a study of the student's own environment. The course is designed to broaden the horizon and deepen the understanding of common phenomena and to furnish a background for better nature study teaching. Natural Science c1xa-b deal more especially with the non-living world. Natural Science c2xa-b consider more especially the world of living things.

Social Science

*c1Xa. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP. Fee, $8.00.
PROFESSOR MCKEE OR ASSISTANT. *16 assignments.*

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* This course was designed to give credit toward the degree of A.B. in Elementary Education, which degree is no longer offered at Chapel Hill. Undergraduate work in elementary education for women is now given at the Woman's College in Greensboro and those interested in degree credit in that field should consult the authorities there about their courses. This course gives certification credit in the elementary field.

** This course is no longer required for a degree at this University but it may be taken for credit on teachers' certificates or for degree credit elsewhere.

The purpose of this course is to furnish the means of instruction and training in the development of those capacities and attitudes desirable in trained and creative citizens. Emphasis will be upon the interrelations of home, school, community, state, and national government.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

c1-c2-c3.
FRESHMAN ENGLISH.
PROFESSOR BAILEY.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

English c1 consists of intensive reading of prose selections, constant written compositions and progressive exercises, with supplementary exercises where needed. The course has for its object the mastery of the sentence and the relation of sentence structure to paragraph structure. There are further readings and exercises in English c2 with attention centered upon the paragraph and its place in the longer essay. Word study and vocabulary building are integral parts of the course. English c3 is devoted to a study of the essay as a prose form; composition centers upon the writing of longer essays, letters, and expositions. Extensive reading is introduced and an approach to the problems of the study of literature is undertaken.

c6.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
MR. HARTSELL.
This course is similar to English c51.
Students should not take both courses.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

c21-c22-c23.
ENGLISH LITERATURE.
PROFESSOR BAILEY, Eng. c21;
MR. HARTSELL, Eng. c22-c23.
Prerequisite, English 1-2-3.
Sophomore requirement.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
17 assignments, c21.
18 assignments, c22.
20 assignments, c23.

An introduction to English literature through the study of representative works of selected chief writers. In English c21 short stories are studied. The selections studied in English c22 are drawn from the beginnings of English literature through the eighteenth century. Those in English c23 are drawn from the beginnings of Romanticism through the nineteenth century.

c50.
SHAKESPEARE.
PROFESSOR SHARPE.
Sophomore, junior, and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A study of Shakespeare's plays. About twenty representative comedies, tragedies, and histories will be studied.

c51.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
MR. HARTSELL.
Prerequisite, English 1-2-3.
Sophomore, junior, and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A course in the vocabulary, forms, and literature of the business profession with special attention to letters of application and inquiry; routine, collection, adjustment and sales letters, business reports, and technical articles. Specimen letters are studied and criticized and actual business problems solved through written work.

c54a.
INTRODUCTION TO THE SHORT-STORY.
PROFESSOR BAILEY.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
17 assignments.

An analysis of numerous short story materials and techniques. Introductory to English c54.

NOTE: This course was formally called English c9.

c54.
THE SHORT STORY .
MR. WILSON OR ASSISTANT.
Junior and senior elective.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
25 assignments.

A composition course designed primarily to offer to students an opportunity for short story writing and to familiarize them with the form. The work of various European and American authors will be studied.

NOTE: Those who have not had a course equivalent to English c54a are advised to take that course first.

c81.
AMERICAN LITERATURE.
DR. HORNER.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A study of the literature of the colonial and revolutionary periods and of the early nineteenth century through Hawthorne and Poe.

c84.
ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1780-1830.
PROFESSOR HUDSON.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A course in the literature of the English Romantic Period, the purpose of which is to acquaint the student with the best thought and feeling of the time. Especial attention is given to the greater poets, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Shelly, and Keats.

c91.
THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY NOVEL.
MR. HARTSELL.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
25 assignments.

A study of the English novel in the nineteenth century. Special attention is given to the works of Jane Austin, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, and George Eliot.

c155a-c155b, c156a-b, c157.
DRAMATIC COMPOSITION.
(See description of these courses listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

c162a-162b.
MODERN DRAMA.
(See description of this course listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY

c15a-c15b.
PRINCIPLES OF GEOGRAPHY.
PROFESSOR EMORY OR PROFESSOR MACCARTHY.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The interrelationship of man and his geographic environment. The geographic factors, particularly climate, are discussed in relation to their influence on the activities of man. Illustrative material is so chosen as to give the student a comprehensive world view. A first course in college geography.

c41-c42.
INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL GEOLOGY.
PROFESSOR PROUTY.
Sophomore, junior and senior electives.

Credit, 4 semester hrs. or 6 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
Lab. fee, $1.00 each.
27 assignments each.

c41. Dynamical Geology. This course deals with the physical and dynamical geology of the earth. The composition, structure, and physical changes of the earth are studied as well as the natural processes that are at work modifying both the face of the earth and the deeper crust.
c42. Historical Geology. A broad study of the geological history of the earth and its inhabitants, as revealed chiefly in earth records. A scientific and cultural course. Laboratory materials used in these courses will be furnished by the Extension Division.

c51-c52.
INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY.
PROFESSOR EMORY OR PROFESSOR ERICKSON.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
26 assignments each.

The course deals with man's interaction with his varying environment in the development of industries, and with the geographic conditions of different countries as giving rise to commerce.

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

c3-c4.
GERMAN: INTERMEDIATE COURSE.
PROFESSOR COENEN OR ASSISTANT.
Freshman and sophomore elective.
Prerequisite, one full year of German.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments each.

Translation, sight reading, composition and grammar.

c11-c12-c13.
GERMAN: INTERMEDIATE COURSE.
PROFESSOR COENEN OR ASSISTANT.
Freshman and sophomore elective.
Prerequisite, one full year of German.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
18 assignments each.

Practically the same material is covered in these courses as in c3-c4. Students may not take both for credit.

c21.
ADVANCED GERMAN. (Introduction to the history of German literature.)
PROFESSOR COENEN OR ASSISTANT.
Sophomore, junior, and senior elective.
Prerequisites, German 3-4 or one year of college German.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

Lessing: *Minna von Barnhelm;* Schiller: *Die Jungfrau von Orleans.*

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

c1-c2-c3.
SOCIAL SCIENCE.
PROFESSOR PEGG.
Required of Freshmen.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
17 assignments each.

A general course dealing with the fundamental factors in modern civilization in Europe and the United States. An historical study of the institutions of western civilization, designed to promote an understanding of the social, political, and economic aspects of the modern world.

c21-c22-c23.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
PROFESSOR GREEN.
Sophomore elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
19 assignments, c21.
18 assignments, c22.
17 assignments, c23.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course carries the story from Columbus's discovery of America to about 1843, the second from this point to 1897 and the third covers approximately the last four decades.

NOTE: These courses were formerly called History c47-c48-c49.

c44-c45-c46.
ENGLISH HISTORY.
PROFESSOR RUSSELL OR MR. DUGAN.
Sophomore Elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments, c44.
19 assignments, c45.
17 assignments, c46.

The purpose of this course is to convey a good working knowledge of English history and broaden it into a survey of the part the Anglo-Saxon race has played in world history. The first part considers early times to the Lancestrian Revolution (1399), the second covers the period 1399 to the end of the Stuart Period (1714) and the last concerns the period 1714 to the present.

c71-c72.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
PROFESSOR GREEN.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments each.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course begins with Columbus's discovery of America and goes to the end of the Civil War; the second begins at this point and ends in the mid-nineteen-thirties. Both c21-c22-c23 and c71-c72 may not be taken for credit.

NOTE: These courses were formerly called History c47-c48.

c161.
NORTH CAROLINA, 1584-1815.
PROFESSOR LEFLER.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A survey of the political, social, economic and cultural development of North Carolina from the first settlement until 1815.

c162.
NORTH CAROLINA, 1815-1936.
PROFESSOR NEWSOME.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A survey of political, economic, social and cultural development in North Carolina since 1815.

c170a-c170b.
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

(See description of these courses listed under Department of Education.)

NOTE: Those who have taken Education c37a-b or c143a-b in previous years should not take these courses.

DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM

*c1. WRITING PUBLICITY FOR CLUBS.
PROFESSOR SPEARMAN.

Non-credit.
Fee*.
10 assignments.

This course is especially designed for club and other organization press chairmen who wish to secure newspaper publicity for their group activities. Instruction will be given in the gathering and the writing of news, reporting of meetings and speeches, handling of feature stories and interviews, and general information on the relationship of club chairmen with the press. The close study of local newspapers and the actual writing of news will be stressed.

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN

c1x. READINGS IN ROMAN LITERATURE.
MR. SUSKIN.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
25 assignments.

This course is concerned with the translating of Latin, with work in vocabulary, and with a review of the principles of grammar.

c8. LATIN COMPOSITION.
PROFESSOR SANDERS.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
28 assignments.

The course will begin with translation into Latin of detached sentences illustrating the general principles of syntax and word order; the second half will deal with continuous narrative and with questions of diction and style.

c11x. LATIN POETRY.
PROFESSOR SANDERS.
Sophomore elective.
Prerequisites, Latin 1-2-3 or 11-12-13, or the equivalent.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

The course comprises the reading of the Phormio of Terence and selected odes of Horace. Emphasis is put on content of literary form.

DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY SCIENCE

*c123a-c123b. BOOK SELECTION FOR CHILDREN'S LIBRARIES.
PROFESSOR BEUST.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

In general, the aim of the course is to acquaint the students with children's reading in order that they may understand the varying appeals that books make to children and thus learn to select books with consideration for the different age groups and differing backgrounds of children. The importance of literature made by children, children's literary tradition, classics, modern and traditional fairy tales, poetry, nursery rhymes, fables and beast tales, myths.

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* The fee for Journalism c1 is $7.50 for non-residents and $5.00 for residents, in addition to a registration fee of $1.00. A person who registers for Journalism only and within the year registers for another course will pay in addition to the course fee only $1.00 to complete the usual registration fee of $2.00.

* These count as courses in children's literature for certification credit.

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

NOTE: Either Mathematics c7-c8 or c9-c10 will meet the requirements of the freshman year but are not the exact equivalent of the courses in residence.

c3 (c3x).
TRIGONOMETRY.
PROFESSOR LASLEY.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
17 assignments.

This course is the equivalent of Mathematics 3 in residence and is designed primarily for A.B. students. It gives a somewhat shorter course in trigonometry than Mathematics c8, but covers the fundamentals with less extensive applications.

c7 (c3).
COLLEGE ALGEBRA.
PROFESSOR LINKER.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
29 assignments.

This course treats the quadratic equation with a detailed discussion of the nature of its roots. Graphs are especially stressed. Determinants and their properties are gone into. Other topics, such as complex numbers, partial fractions, etc., are touched upon.

c8 (c4).
TRIGONOMETRY.
PROFESSOR LASLEY.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This course concerns itself with the definitions of the trigonometric functions, their relations to each other, and the application of these functions and log tables to the solution of triangles in the plane.

c9-c10 (c1-c2).
MATHEMATICAL ANALYSIS.
PROFESSOR LASLEY.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments each.

The first course concerns a study of functions and their graphs, the limit notion, graphical treatment of rates, means, ordinates, maximum and minimum, areas, etc.—an introduction to the notions of the differential and integral calculus. Graphic solution of equations. The second deals with the solution of right and oblique triangles with applications. Logarithms and their application to computation. Solution of equations, Trigonometric analysis, complex numbers.

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

c4.
ELEMENTARY THEORY OF MUSIC.
PROFESSOR TOMS.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments.

A study of the rudiments of music. Scales, intervals, and elementary harmonic material with practice in melody writing.

c14-c15-c16.
HARMONY.
PROFESSOR SCHINHAN.
Prerequisite, Music c4, or the equivalent.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
15 assignments, c14.
16 assignments, c15.
18 assignments, c16.

A first-year course in harmony. This covers the ordinary harmonic resources up to the chords of the seventh, their inversions, and elementary modulation.

c24-c25-c26.
HISTORY OF MUSIC.
PROFESSOR HAYDEN OR ASSISTANT.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

This general course in history of music is divided into three parts any one of which may be taken separately: (1) the period from antiquity to the end of the sixteenth century; (2) the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; (3) from the Romantic period to the present day. It is planned to include phonographic recordings of the music of the various periods.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

c51.
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
PROFESSOR JENKINS.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A general course dealing with the national government of the United States. Attention will be directed to the constitutional basis, the historical development, and the practical organization and operation of the institutions established for administering national affairs.

c52.
THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE.
PROFESSOR ROBSON.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A course in comparative government dealing with the governments of England, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia. Particular attention will be directed to the features in the structure, operation and trends in these governments which present contrasts to those in the United States.

c81.
AMERICAN STATE GOVERNMENT.
PROFESSOR JENKINS.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A study in the principles, organization, and administrative methods of state government. In connection with the course will be a special study of the government of North Carolina.

c86.
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD POLITICS.
PROFESSOR FRAZER.
Prerequisite, Political Science 31-32-33 or 41-42 or 51.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This course is designed to serve as an introduction to the study of international affairs. Its purpose is to lay the foundations for a general knowledge of the subject.

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

*c21x-c22x-c23x.
GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY.
MISS ROBINS.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
19 assignments, c21x.
18 assignments, c22x.
16 assignments, c23x.

The aim of the course is to present the essential phenomena of psychology, and the various methods of approach. Emphasis is placed on the organic relationships within the whole field.

* Credit only for lecture part of course.

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

NOTE: Candidates for degree credit at the University are required to take their courses in this department in residence.

FRENCH

c3.
COMPOSITION AND READING—INTERMEDIATE.
PROFESSOR LYONS.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

It is understood that those who register for this course have had either two years of high school French or one year of college French. The course consists of composition of medium difficulty, a thorough review of the essentials of French grammar, and translation, from French into English, of literary masterpieces of moderate difficulty. No pretense is made that the student will improve his knowledge of the spoken language in this course. However, a student who completes successfully this course and the following course, French c4, should be able to write French with a certain amount of facility, and should be able to read with ease anything written in modern French prose.

c4.
COMPOSITION AND READING—ADVANCED.
PROFESSOR LYONS.
Prerequisites, French 1, 2, and 3 in residence, or one year of college French.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

The objects of this course are: (1) to enable the student to read standard French fluently and easily in preparation for the courses in literature that follow, and (2) to give the student practice in expressing his thoughts in French, thus enabling him to write the language with some degree of fluency. The assignments will consist of constant reading of the masterpieces of modern French literature with frequent compositions.

c21-c22.
FRENCH LITERATURE.
PROFESSOR LYONS.
Prerequisites, French 3-4 or 11-12-13 or the equivalent.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments each.

French c21 is an introduction to the study of French literature, giving a general survey of French literature from its beginnings through the 17th century. A number of plays of Corneille, Racine, and Molière, the three great dramatists of the 17th century, will be read. French c22 is a survey of French literature through the 18th and 19th centuries. Selected reading from the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Beaumarchais, Chateaubriand, and Victor Hugo will be required.

SPANISH

c3-c4.
SPANISH COMPOSITION.
MR. HAYES.
Prerequisites, either two years of high school or one year of college French.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments each.

The object of these courses is to provide the student with an opportunity to acquire practice in writing Spanish.

c21-c22.
SPANISH LITERATURE.
MR. HAYES.
Prerequisites, Spanish 3-4 or 11-12-13 or the equivalent.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $13.50 each.
27 assignments, c21.
30 assignments, c22.

Spanish c21 is a general survey of Spanish literature during the 16th and 17th centuries, with some reference to preceding literary movements. There is the reading of selections from Lope de Vega. Cervantes, Calderón, etc. Spanish c22 gives a general survey of Spanish literature since the classical period, with special stress on the 19th century.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

c51.
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.
PROFESSOR BROOKS.
Sophomore, junior, and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

Emphasis on social organs as found in primitive society, the rise of contemporary society, the forces shaping society studied through the geographical, biological, psychological, and cultural approaches; social organization and control; the elements of social theory. Brief consideration of causal factors underlying social problems. This course should precede all other work in this department.

c52a-c52b.
SOCIAL PROBLEMS.
PROFESSOR MEYER.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

These are general courses giving primary emphasis to positive features and institutional foundations of society. Problems of leadership, race, population, family, immigration, and other institutions are emphasized. More emphasis is given in c52b to such pathological aspects of society as crime, poverty, and the defective.

c161a-c161b.
THE FAMILY.
DR. KLAISS.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
15 assignments each.

The first part deals with the historic significance of the family; its place and problems today under the influence of changing social and economic conditions; some criteria of family success; the family as a field for research. In c161b family relationships are examined in the light of psychological, sociological, legal, eugenic, educational, and economic influences with special emphasis on parent-child factors.

NOTE: In special cases and by permission, c161b may be taken independently of c161a, but ordinarily they should be studied in the order listed.

*c154.
CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN SOCIETY.
PROFESSOR ODUM OR ASSISTANT.
Prerequisite, Sociology 51 or 52.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This course is divided into three main parts. The first is an examination of the development of society in the modern world with special emphasis upon contrast between our current technological

* Not available until fall 1939.

civilization and earlier societies. The second part is a characterization of the "Americanisms" of the contemporary United States, contrasting the authentic "Americanisms" of earlier days with those of our modern society. The third part will examine the theory and practice of democracy as the special American social arrangement through which society works for a "superior mankind" and a greater human welfare.

*c171a-c171b.
EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments each.

A course in the foundation of educational sociology, with special emphasis upon the utilization of sociology in furthering the educability of the group and in correlating other institutions with the school. The social objectives for the individual, for the group, for the institutions, for school subjects, will be treated specially. In c171b special emphasis is placed upon original studies, researches, and practical projects in the application of the organization principles set forth in c171a.

c173a-b.
PLAY AND RECREATION.
PROFESSOR MEYER.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
16 assignments.

The theories of play, play activities, attitudes, history of the play movement, play leadership, programs, values, sex and age differences, classification of movements, application to community life. A helpful bibliography is studied.

c175.
EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.
PROFESSOR MEYER.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $8.00.
16 assignments each.

Clubs, student participation in school government, physical education, publicity in school publications, commencement, many miscellaneous topics, theoretical and practical studies of institutions promoting successful programs, bibliographical materials.

c181a-c181b.
REGIONAL SOCIOLOGY OF THE SOUTH.
PROFESSOR BROOKS.
Prerequisite, Sociology 51.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $8.00 each.
15 assignments each.

An introductory study of the South as a region showing geographic, population, and sociological factors and trends. Special emphasis is placed upon methods and techniques of investigation of social and regional situations by the use of the genetic, case, and statistical approaches. The study will be based upon the book, *Southern Regions of the United States*, a comprehensive study by Howard W. Odum.

c185.
THE NEGRO.
DR. JOHNSON.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

A study of the Negro in American life. A brief survey of the historical background is followed by a detailed study of the various aspects of Negro life—economic, religious, educational, health, family, crime, literature, etc.—ending with a consideration of racial attitudes and race relations.

* Not given 1939-40.

*c192. CRIME AND ITS SOCIAL TREATMENT.
PROFESSOR BROOKS.
Junior and senior elective.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

Nature of crime; extent of crime; causes of crime; criminal law and procedure; theories and methods of punishment; the prison system; substitutes for imprisonment; problems of prison administration; the prevention of crime.

RURAL SOCIAL ECONOMICS

c51. RURAL ECONOMICS.
PROFESSOR HOBBS.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
25 assignments.

This is a technical course introducing the student to the subject of agricultural economics. It deals with such subjects as the scope of agricultural economics, systems of farming, farm financing, power and machinery, labor, land, tenancy, credits, marketing of farm products, price of farm products, etc. The purpose is to acquaint the student with agriculture as a business, and to introduce him to the new field of agricultural economy.

c53. HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE.
PROFESSOR HOBBS.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This course outlines the history of agriculture and rural life, mainly in Europe and America. From the beginning of time man has lived largely on the farm and has extracted his living out of the soil. Urbanization is a recent development. This course is designed to acquaint the student with the stages of agricultural development from the earliest recorded times to the present. It covers earliest beginnings, agriculture in Rome and Greece, later agricultural and rural conditions in Europe, and a brief history of American agriculture. It enables one to understand history better.

c71. RURAL SOCIOLOGY.
PROFESSOR HOBBS.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This course is an introduction to the study of rural sociology. It is based on definite text materials and therefore is generally technical in character, serving to lay a foundation for further study in this field. It deals with such subjects as rural and urban communities defined, types of rural communities, advantages and disadvantages of farm life, rural health and sanitation, rural social institutions as the home, school, church, and government.

c101. NORTH CAROLINA: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL.
PROFESSOR HOBBS.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $13.50.
27 assignments.

This course is designed to familiarize the student with the home state. It is an economic and social interpretation of North Carolina, and is designed mainly for teachers whose work involves a knowledge of the state. It outlines the geographic areas of the state, their economic foundations, peculiar social conditions, and problems. It covers population, agriculture, resources, industry, and state-wide social and economic conditions.

* Not given 1939-40.

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES OFFERED AT STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING, RALEIGH, N. C.

Agriculture

Courses	*Credits*	*Instructor*
Agron. 101, Field Crops	3 credits	Mr. Cotner
A. H. 101, Animal Nutrition I	3 credits	Mr. Ruffner
A. H. 211, Animal Nutrition II	3 credits	Mr. Ruffner
A. H. 205, Sheep Production	3 credits	Mr. Foster
Hort. 209, Vegetable Production	3 credits	Mr. Randall
Hort. 228, Home Floriculture	3 credits	Mr. Randall
Soils 310, Fertilizers	3 credits	Mr. Clevenger
Soils 320, Pedology	3 credits	Mr. Clevenger
Poul. 101, General Poultry	3 credits	Mr. Dearstyne
Poul. 303, Poultry Nutrition	3 credits	Mr. Dearstyne
Poul. 305, Poultry Diseases	3 credits	Mr. Dearstyne

Agricultural Economics—Rural Sociology

Agr. Econ. 261, Farm Management	3 credits	Mr. Forster
Agr. Econ. 268, Grades, Standards, and Inspection	3 credits	Mr. Forster
Rural Soc. 302, Rural Sociology	3 credits	Mr. Matthews

Art

A. E. 205a, History of Architecture	2 credits	Mr. Paulson
A. E. 205b, History of Architecture	2 credits	Mr. Paulson
A. E. 205c, History of Architecture	2 credits	Mr. Paulson

Education

Ed. 203a, Educational Psychology	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Ed. 203b, Educational Psychology	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Ed. 371, Psychology of the Exceptional Pupil	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Ed. 276, Psychology of Adolescence	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Ed. 377, Psychology of Secondary Education	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Ed. 320, Vocational Guidance	3 credits	Mr. Boshart
Ed. 321, Vocational Education	3 credits	Mr. Boshart
Ed. 324, Occupational Studies	3 credits	Mr. Boshart
Ed. 352, Industrial Arts	3 credits	Mr. Boshart

Psychology

Psy. 200, Introduction to Psychology	3 credits	Mr. McGehee
Psy. 203a, Educational Psychology	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Psy. 203b, Educational Psychology	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Psy. 269, Psychology Applied to Vocational Activities	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Psy. 371, Psychology of the Exceptional Pupil	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Psy. 376, Psychology of Adolescence	3 credits	Mr. Garrison
Psy. 377, Psychology of Secondary Education	3 credits	Mr. Garrison

Economics

Econ. 103a, General Economics	3 credits	Mr. Green
Econ. 103b, General Economics	3 credits	Mr. Green
Econ. 211, Business Law	3 credits	Mr. Green

English

Courses	*Credits*	*Instructor*
Eng. 120, Business English	3 credits	Mr. Wilson
Eng. 221a, Survey of American Literature	3 credits	Mr. Ladu
Eng. 221b, Survey of American Literature	3 credits	Mr. Ladu

Geology

Geol. 120, Physical Geology	3 credits	Mr. Stuckey
Geol. Ex. 207a, Physical Geography	3 credits	Mr. Stuckey
Geol. Ex. 207b, Physical Geography	3 credits	Mr. Stuckey

History

Hist. Ex. 101a, American Economic History to 1789	3 credits	Mr. Seegers
Hist. Ex. 101b, American Economic History 1789-1865	3 credits	Mr. Seegers
Hist. Ex. 101c, American Economic History since 1865	3 credits	Mr. Seegers
Hist. Ex. 201a, The Colonial Period of American History	3 credits	Mr. Bauerlein
Hist. Ex. 201b, History of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War	3 credits	Mr. Bauerlein
Hist. Ex. 201c, American National Development 1860-1920	3 credits	Mr. Bauerlein
Hist. 204a, Modern European History, 1500-1815	3 credits	Mr. Bauerlein
Hist. 204b, Modern European History, 1815-1870	3 credits	Mr. Bauerlein
Hist. 204c, Modern European History, 1815-1937	3 credits	Mr. Bauerlein
Hist. 303, History of North Carolina	3 credits	Mr. Barnhardt
Hist. 307a, Economic and Social History of the South	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller
Hist. 307b, Economic and Social History of the South	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller
Hist. 307c, Economic and Social History of the South	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller
Hist. 310, American Biography	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller
Hist. 321, The Hispanic American Republics	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller

Government

Gov. 200a, American National Government	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller
Gov. 200b, State Government and Administration	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller
Gov. 200c, Municipal Government and Administration	3 credits	Mr. Lockmiller

Engineering

Cer. E. 103, Ceramic Materials	3 credits	Mr. Stone
Cer. E. 104, Ceramic and Mining Processes	3 credits	Mr. Stone
Cer. E. 207, Silicate Bodies and Glasses	3 credits	Mr. Stone
Cer. E. 208, Drying Fundamentals and Practice	3 credits	Mr. Stone
Cer. E. 210, Metal Enamels	3 credits	Mr. Stone
Cer. E. 213a, Firing Fundamentals and Practice	3 credits	Mr. Stone
Cer. E. 213b, Setting Heavy Clay Products	3 credits	Mr. Stone

Courses	*Credits*	*Instructor*
Cer. E. 214, Pyrometry	3 credits	Mr. Stone
Cer. E. 301, Refractories	3 credits	Mr. Stone
H. E. Ex. 101, Accidents and their Prevention	3 credits	Mr. Tucker
Air Conditioning, Heating and Ventilating	no credit	Mr. Tucker
Industrial Electricity	no credit	Mr. Brown
Practical Land Surveying	no credit	Mr. Bramer
Plumbing	no credit	Mr. Geile
M. E. 102 or 101, Engineering Drawing	6 credits	Mr. Briggs
Chem. E. 201, Industrial Chemistry	9 credits	Mr. Randolph
Mathematics		
Practical Mathematics	no credit	Mr. Mumford
Modern Languages		
M. L. 101a, Elementary French	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 101b, Elementary French	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 101c, Elementary French	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 103a, Elementary Spanish	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 103b, Elementary Spanish	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 103c, Elementary Spanish	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 209a, Spanish Prose	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 209b, Spanish Prose	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
M. L. 209c, Spanish Prose	3 credits	Mr. Ballenger
Public Safety		
H. E. Ex. 101, Accidents and Their Prevention	3 credits	Mr. Tucker
Sociology		
Soc. 101a, Human Relations	2 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. 101b, Human Relations	2 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. 101c, Human Relations	2 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. 103a, General Sociology	3 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. 103b, General Sociology	3 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. 300, Criminology	3 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. 301, Social Pathology	3 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. Ex. 302, Sociology of City Life	3 credits	Mr. Winston
Soc. 306, The Family Organization	3 credits	Mr. Winston
Rural Soc. 302, Rural Sociology	3 credits	Mr. Matthews
Zoology		
Zool. Ex. 108, Heredity and Eugenics	3 credits	Mr. Bostian

For further information, write to Edward W. Ruggles, Director, College Extension Division, State College Station, Raleigh, N. C.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICES

In addition to the correspondence courses listed in this catalogue, the University of North Carolina offers, through the Extension Division, the following services to the people of the state:

Extension Class Instruction. Late afternoon, evening, and Saturday classes are organized wherever enough enrollments to cover expenses are secured. Courses of both a vocational and cultural nature are offered, with college credit, if desired.

Library Service. Reading courses, books, and reference materials are loaned to individuals and groups interested in the systematic study and discussion of literary, historical, social, and other subjects. There are available about fifty outlines for study suitable for women's clubs or other groups.

Lectures. Popular and technical lectures and readings by members of the faculty are arranged for schools, clubs, and other community organizations. Lecture courses either on a particular subject or a series of topics may be obtained. Short courses and institutes are held at the University for groups interested in intensive training and instructional programs.

Dramatic Arts. Assistance is given in organization for dramatic activities, in play selection and production, and in the loan of playbooks and other library material. An annual tournament is conducted in coöperation with the Carolina Dramatic Association.

Interscholastic Activities. In coöperation with several University departments and state agencies, the Division conducts annual contests in debating, athletics, and academic subjects. A coaching school is held each summer for high school coaches and athletic directors.

Publications. The *University News Letter*, containing the results of studies made of economic and social conditions in North Carolina, is sent free to residents of the state. There are also issued annually several outlines for reading or study on such topics as current books, history, travel, etc.

For information about any of the above services, write to the UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION, Chapel Hill, N. C.

REGISTRATION BLANK FOR CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

University Extension Division

Chapel Hill, N. C.

This blank is to be filled out completely in applicant's own handwriting. It must be accompanied by check or money order to cover fee.†
In sending this application, I agree to abide by the rules and regulations of the Extension Division as set down in the catalog:

1. Name (in full)_____ Age_____
(Mr., Miss, or Mrs.) Race_____

2. Present address _____
(City) (County) (State)

3. Permanent address _____
(City) (County) (State)

4. Previous education _____

5. If you have ever registered in any division of this University before, underline which division and give date: Residence term_____Summer school _____ Extension class_____ Correspondence_____

6. Number and subject of course desired_____

7. Kind of credit desired (mark X): Undergraduate degree credit_____
Toward what degree?_____At what institution?_____
If credit is desired elsewhere, have you secured the approval of the authorities?
_____Certification credit_____*Professional credit.
_____No credit_____Occupation_____

8. If teaching, give KIND of certificate held_____Class_____No._____

9. Do you wish to purchase the books through the Extension Division?_____

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† For fees for non-residents of North Carolina, see page 14.
* Credit granted teachers for courses in education and allied subjects. See page 7.

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STUDY OUTLINES

LIBRARY EXTENSION PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I

1. October, 1934. *The Southern Garden.* W. L. Hunt.
2. January 1935. *Adventures in Reading, Seventh Series.* C. S. Love.
3. April, 1935. *Below the Potomac.* M. N. Bond.
4. May, 1935. *Europe in Transition.* Phillips Russell & C. M. Russell.
5. June, 1935. *Other People's Lives, Fourth Series.* C. S. Love.
6. July, 1935. *The Story of Books.* R. B. Downs.

VOLUME II

1. October, 1935. *Adventures with Music and Musicians.* A. D. McCall.
2. January, 1936. *Famous Women of Yesterday and Today.* Revised Edition. C. S. Love.
3. April, 1936. *Adventures in Reading, Eighth Series.* M. N. Bond.
4. May, 1936. *Other People's Lives, Fifth Series.* C. S. Love.
5. June, 1936. *Adventures in Reading. Ninth Series.* A. B. Adams.
6. July, 1936. *Modern Plays and Playwrights.* C. M. Russell.

VOLUME III

1. October, 1936. *Adventures Around the World.* Lucile Kelling.
2. January, 1937. *The Modern Woman.* E. C. Baity.
3. April, 1937. *Literary Backgrounds of Present Day Germany.* A. E Zucker and W. P. Friederich.
4. May, 1937. *India in Revolution.* E. E. and E. E. Ericson.
5. June, 1937. *Adventures in Reading, Tenth Series.* A. B. Adams.
6. July, 1937. *The Theatre Today.* M. G. Holmes.

VOLUME IV

1. October, 1937. *Other People's Lives, Sixth Series.* C. S. Love.
2. January, 1938. *American Humor.* E. C. Downs & R. B. Downs.
3. April, 1938. *Contemporary Poetry.* Lucile Kelling.
4. May, 1938. *Building and Furnishing a Home.* E. C. Baity.
5. June, 1938. *Adventures in Reading, Eleventh Series.* A. B. Adams.
6. July, 1938. *Famous Women of Yesterday and Today.* Third Edition. C. S. Love.

VOLUME V

1. October, 1938. *Political Problems in Present-Day Europe. First Series.* Werner P. Friederich.
2. January, 1939. *Political Problems in Present-Day Europe. Second Series.* C. B. Robson, C. H. Pegg, A. B. Dugan, and J. L. Godfrey.

Single copies, 50 cents each; in North Carolina, 25 cents.

One complete volume, advance subscription, six numbers, $2.00; to residents of North Carolina, $1.00.

Copies will be sent on approval, if requested.

For further information write to

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LIBRARY
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.